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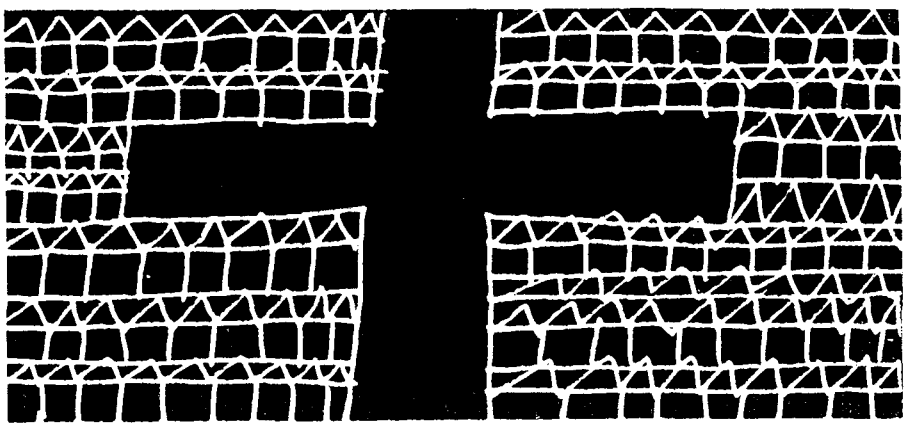

THE PROBLEM OF PRIESTS IN THE WORLD

Laicization is the danger

Justus George Lawler

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TRIAL BY NEWSPAPER

Nat Hentoff

THE LATE DEMON RUM

John P. Sisk

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CORRESPONDENCE

Nuns As People

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: I found Sister Stephanie's article [*Ferris Wheel, Anyone?*, March 26] refreshing, timely and gratifying. I know without doubt that the typical American Sister is sick and tired of seeing pictures of her fellow Sister swinging a baseball bat, skiing, rollerskating or simply enjoying the amusement area of Palisades Park.

On the other hand, I and many another Sister thrilled to the front page pictures of nuns marching in protest at Selma and Harlem. For the first time in the history of our country, it has been accepted and allowed for nuns, mature women dedicated to God and neighbor, citizens of our country, to manifest their disagreement with the policy of our democracy regarding the denial of civil rights to the Negro. Religious have been professional witnesses to Christ for centuries but this is the first time we've been allowed to really "witness."

The American Sister today is educated in the full sense of the word. In order to meet the educational requirements of the state, her school is staffed by professionally prepared religious. Not only has she finished her undergraduate work but most likely has finished graduate work in her field, as well as postgraduate work. Why shouldn't an American Sister then be incensed by the type of laymen whom Sister Stephanie classifies as Number Two who treats her as a child incapable of mature thinking, scientific or political research etc.?

We Sisters are grateful to the Type One Layman who looks for maturity and apostolic action in the American Nun today. We know too, this type layman does not have to look far because the mature American Nun can be found at every turn, in every parish, in every high school, college and hospital.

Our American Sisters want to be part of a parish and a community. Why isn't she invited by the laity to work with them or the local community council, fair-housing committee, Citizens for Decent Literature board, etc. etc.? You will find Sister giving you a much more enthusiastic "yes" to this type of request rather than taking the ride on the Ferris Wheel with your grandchildren! Why not try it?

SISTER JOAN BERNADETTE, C.S.J.

"Mariological Inflation"

Dayton, Ohio

To the Editors: "O admirable Virgin Mary, deliver us from the fear of searching out your place in Redemption!"

I sympathize with Father George Tavard in his concern over a "mariological inflation" of Marian congresses, societies, publications, even a Marian Library [book review, March 19]. Yet, rather than lament the existence of such a strong movement, I suggest we work to channel all this energy in the right direction—towards a sincere and ecumenical search for the meaning of Mary in God's plan. Indeed, if the efforts are honest ones, soon the mariologists are bound to realize that they do need a sound basis in Scripture and redemption theology, and that they must investigate these areas in depth before they can pursue the mariology.

An excellent example of a mariological effort which hasn't at all "choked" the theology would be the 11th annual Mariological Congress that took place last month in Santo Domingo. The dominant theme of the Congress is Scripture, and a surprising number of the presentations are concerned with purely scriptural and scriptural-ecclesiological difficulties. For example, the topics include: the analogy of faith in interpreting Sacred Scripture; particular problems in modern exegesis relative to dogma; scriptural exegesis and dogmatic theology; the analogy of faith as form and as principle; and the value and compass of Catholic tradition in interpreting Scripture. Here are important questions in current Scripture—helpful to ecclesiology as well as to mariology. And where are they being tackled? At an ecclesiological congress?

And may I here insert a point on mariology, that study which appeared to be the brunt of Father Tavard's misgivings? He seems to have a mental image of a mariologist as some imaginative creature scuttling through libraries to write more and more about one subject of Revelation isolated from the rest of theology. Real mariology cannot survive as a departure from theology; it must be, rather, a fresh venture into theology. In this sense, mariology will bring Christians to a more organic realization of the Redemption, the Resurrection, the Church, and the roles of Christ and Mary throughout. If mariology does not lead squarely to Christ and his Church, then somewhere it has lost the humble Virgin whose life led directly to the Redeemer.

(BRO.) WILLIAM KUHNS, S. M.

Reply

Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editors: The "mariologist" I have in mind is not imaginary; he is a real person, often met in real life. As a preacher, he makes Fatima, or some other eccentric devotion, the center of his message; as a scholar, he focuses his researches, even concerning "important questions in current Scripture," on their relevance to mariology; as an ecclesiastical lobbyist, he agitates for another dogma, that would supposedly enhance the glories of Mary.

Today's mariologist is particularly concerned about the "place of Mary in Redemption," "the meaning of Mary in God's plan," for he has somehow persuaded himself that the affirmation of Mary's divine Motherhood, perpetual virginity, Immaculate Conception, Assumption does not sufficiently show the subordinate place of Mary in relation to Christ the only Redeemer and her "typical" meaning in relation to the Church. In order to discover some elements of doctrine implicit in, though unknown to, the previous Tradition, he is eager to call on all possible resources of exegesis and to unearth scriptural meanings hitherto unsuspected. Yet he does not seem to notice that by centering theology on an off-center point, he has

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already warped the analogy of faith, outside of which Mary has no meaning or place.

For this reason, I did not attend the Marian Congress of Santo Domingo, in spite of the obvious attraction of a spring vacation in the West Indies.

(REV.) GEORGE H. TAVARD

"Pacifism of the Weak"

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: James O'Gara's praise for the Fathers Berrigan [column, "Men of Peace," March 19] in their insistence that moral standards are relevant to the war in Vietnam is itself worthy of praise. For in breaking with the tradition of churchly silence on the world's thornier problems, the Berrigans have surely put their heads on the ecclesiastical chopping block. Mr. O'Gara's column no doubt will help to make their stand a little less dangerous. It serves as another drenching on the still not extinguished fires of the Inquisition.

Mr. O'Gara will forgive me, I hope, if I add to my praise a critique of his remarks on pacifism, which he implies would mean—if applied seriously to our foreign policy—a willingness to let evil triumph.

Now while I dislike the word pacifism (because it is often confused with passivity), there is unfortunately no other word in our language which implies the holder believes nonviolent means can provide society with a more effective defense than the military solution.

The pacifism he locks horns with (and rightly so) is what Gandhi called the "pacifism of the weak." It is the kind of pacifism we saw much of during the thirties, a coward's pacifism that gave birth to the betrayal at Munich. It is a pacifism, as Thomas Merton has written, which has amounted to nothing more than the disposition to ignore unpleasant realities and to compromise with the threat of force.

There is another variety which doesn't shy away from violence, which is in no sense a modern quietism tip-

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and from mid-July to mid-September, at 3rd & Hunting Park, Philadelphia, Pa. by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1965 Commonweal Publishing Co, Inc. US and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign $10 Single copies 25¢

A CRITICAL JUNCTURE

There can now be no doubt that the Church is faced with a series of critical questions on licit means of family limitation. A few years ago, no questions were thought to exist: Pope Pius XI had condemned mechanical methods of birth control in *Casti Connubii* and Pius XII had included anovulant pills when used for purpose of contraception under the general prohibition. Rome had spoken; the matter was no longer debatable. Or so it was thought.

But some problems won't go away so easily. As matters have turned out, a number of realities have intruded, the net effect of which has been to undermine, if not entirely destroy, the Church's self-confidence in its position. Externally, the desperate need for world population control became apparent. For a time there were confident assertions that a better distribution of the world's resources, liberalized immigration policies, exploitation of the sea, perfection of the rhythm method, even human settlements in outer space, would take care of the expanding population. Some of this whistling in the dark can still be heard, but the sound becomes fainter all the time.

Internally, serenity soon gave away to uncertainty and then to anguish. It was said that theologians had achieved a consensus on moral methods of family planning; but as soon as one moved beyond the printed (and censored) public word and asked some private questions of the theologians, the purported agreement tended to diminish. It was said that by relying on the sacraments and living a life of self-control, periodic abstinence was eminently satisfactory and effective for those couples who were forced to limit their families; the testimony of the laity, which only recently was allowed to surface, reported just the opposite. It was said that the Church's position could be established by natural reason alone, as a clear deliverance of the natural law; unfortunately, no one managed to discover an argument

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that worked. It was said that even if a tight argument couldn't be found, the magisterium had spoken, and that was enough anyway; but then Pope Paul convoked a secret commission. He wanted advice. No one who is confident that an issue has been decisively resolved and accepted by the Church universal would need to ask for advice.

The facts of the matter, then, could not be more evident: there exists no clear-cut theological consensus; there is less and less support among the laity for the "traditional" position; the Pope himself is uncertain. As if that were not enough, the whole trend of recent discussions has weakened, not confirmed, the logical and theological basis for the old position. Some may deplore this trend of public opinion in the Church. Some may rail against those theologians who would have the magisterium declare in favor of "the pill." Some may be aghast at those theologians and laymen who want the magisterium to allow mechanical means of contraception to be employed in some cases. But let those who are shocked and worried at least recognize this: the more the Church has wrestled with its conscience, the more it has examined its old arguments, the more it has allowed all sides to have a say, the clearer it has become that the unanimity of belief necessary to declare a doctrine to be part of the Catholic faith does not exist. That in itself ought to still any self-righteous voices—whether on the side of those who advocate a rigid adherence to the status quo or those who advocate a radical change.

Our own convictions side with those who want a change. We hope that eventually the magisterium will declare in favor of the right of couples to employ whatever methods of family limitation they find to be spiritually, psychologically and scientifically most effective. We do not believe that anyone has succeeded in showing that each and every method of "artificial" birth control is necessarily immoral. But that is just an opinion, and necessarily fallible. We do not know we are right; there are, certainly, strong and responsible voices on the other side. No one has a monopoly on wisdom here.

At the moment, the Church awaits a statement by Pope Paul, now expected to come near Easter. But more than that, the Church awaits the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Perhaps this illumination will be given through Pope Paul in the near future. Perhaps more time will be needed. Pope Paul has shown that he has the courage to solicit a wide range of opinions, to shy away from a precipitate reply to those clamoring for certainty—the courage, that is, to wait. All of us must wait, not just for the Pope, but with him.

DEFENDING THE POLICE

No one can be cross with Mr. William F. Buckley of *National Review* if he understands that the gentleman is essentially a debater, a man who delights in taking an indefensible cause and defending it brilliantly. The element of *tour de force* is rarely absent. Others climbed the Matterhorn or swam the Hellespont because more mundane men thought it couldn't be done. Mr. Buckley defends the Selma police.

His remarks were delivered before a whistling, cheering throng of 6,000 New York City policemen at an annual communion breakfast. Some may weep at the news, but the *Herald Tribune* reports that the assembly "rocked with applause" as Mr. Buckley testified to the restraint of the Selma police on "Bloody Sunday," March 8. This was the day when police cut into a passive crowd with clubs, tear gas and whips. Some photographs show police beating men and women who were already on the ground. "The cameras showed the flurry of nightsticks," said Mr. Buckley, "but they did not show the period of time—20 minutes, 1,200 seconds—when the demonstrators faced each other." It is on this golden 1,200 seconds of consecutive restraint, unchronicled by Northern photographers, upon which Mr. Buckley bases his case. For the cheering crowd of New York policemen, identifying with their misunderstood brethren in Alabama, it apparently was enough.

Would the 6,000 policemen have cheered if Mr. Buckley had found the time to mention that police officers are being held in the murder of the three civil rights workers last June, that Montgomery police were so brutal during the March 16 demonstration that even their superiors apologized, and that Jimmy Lee Jackson, the first martyr of the Selma campaign, was shot to death by a state trooper while trying to stop the trooper from clubbing his mother over the head? One hopes not. Mr. Buckley is keenly aware of the danger of a holy war against all law enforcement. He is not so sensitive to the danger of simplistically defending all police actions everywhere. Nor is he reluctant to play to the gallery before a police force which is currently smarting under criticism, some of it richly deserved. The situation is not improved by speeches which play on the resentments of police officers by depicting subversives, criminals, the Warren Court, civil rights workers and critics of police abuses as part of a conspiratorial pattern to upset legitimate law enforcement. Mr. Buckley's statement that "nobody is more sacrosanct than he who strikes a policeman, and nobody more guilty than he who uses ingenuity" to catch a criminal, is a slightly sophisticated version of Barry Goldwater's pocket pro-

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fundity to the effect that the cop goes to jail and the criminal goes free. Similarly, the John Birch Society's fervent belief that criticism of the police is tied to the Communist conspiracy is suggested by Mr. Buckley's statement that "Men who rail unthinkingly at policemen . . . tend to have a relationship with revolutionaries." Whatever that means. Mr. Buckley's speech suggests a recurring idea—that the far right does indeed offer a choice and not an echo, since its fears are available in both crude and sophisticated versions. Different models. Same fixations.

GAMBLING ON HUAC

The favorite reading material of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, if we accept the example of Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton, are the reports on subversion in the country issued periodically by the House Un-American Activities Committee. That the Klan should now be the subject of an investigation by the selfsame Committee may be temporarily gratifying, then, if only for the irony. But in light of HUAC's history, the reckless charges, misuse of power, arrogant disregard of individual rights—all of which in this country have become synonymous with its initials—it seems the height of gambler's folly to expect that anything worthwhile will come of it.

The White House stated its preference for HUAC, over the responsible House Judiciary Committee, on the ground that the former is above suspicion of leftist tendencies, even in the South, and that a condemnation of the Klan coming from it will carry just that much more weight. However, to qualify as free of the Communist rot that supposedly is infecting the country, at least in the minds of white Southerners, is merely to mark the measure of one's remove from reality. That is precisely why HUAC is untrustworthy for the serious task of investigation that the Klan's activities in the South demand.

HUAC has ignored extreme rightist and racist groups in this country for decades, even when some of them, the Klan for example, have been listed by the Attorney General's Office as subversive. Its obsession with ferreting out Communists has led it into actions that have brought discredit not only on it, but to some degree on the whole investigative function of Congress. To set it on the Klan trail now will not somehow suddenly transform it into a model agency of government. Instead, it sets a poor precedent by which the competence of official investigative agencies is determined by their political color. If the whole idea is simply to match prejudices, then the exercise of Congressional authority may soon become accepted in theory, as it occasionally is in practice, as arbitrary.

This is particularly foolhardy in the present instance, for in investigating the Klan, the whole civil rights movement in the South will necessarily come under HUAC's capricious scrutiny. With five of its nine members Southerners, including its chairman, Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, we have put ourselves in the unlikely position of hoping that Martin Luther King, Jr. weathers the Committee's hearings better than Mr. Shelton.

SO LITTLE IN IT

In the seven and a half years since Sputnik scared the life out of American school boards, the "space race" has been swiftly institutionalized. By now, even the enthusiasm for such accomplishments as the recent maneuvers with manned capsules—or the Ranger IX moon photography—seems routinized and strained, generated by mass media desperate for "heroes."

Is this because we don't really know what we are doing out in space, anyway? At least in part, the answer is yes. The reasons for our enormous expenditures on the space program (even greater in talent than in cash) are a mixed lot indeed, none of which, when singled out, appears very conclusive. There is, of course, the genuine desire for scientific knowledge. But space is by far not the only scientific frontier remaining. And as the British weekly, *The Economist* points out, relatively little new knowledge has resulted from all the rocketry. "The trouble with space," said *The Economist*, "is that there is . . . so little in it." Obviously, the Cold War is the crucial stimulant. But even here, beyond the subconscious dream of some that Gus Grissom (or Bobby Kennedy?) will plant the U.S. flag on the moon and thus claim it as a fifty-first state, the possible gains are not clear. The propaganda value of space exploits is surely diminishing. The military value is still largely unknown.

Yet perhaps it is this "unknown" that propels us, the fear that something, anything, may turn up—and the Soviets will be the ones to benefit. This "mystery gap" has a limited validity as a reason for our space endeavor —very limited. It is, ultimately, a sort of non-guide with which to guide U.S. efforts. It comes all too close to a form of irrationality which could send American space efforts as far out of control as was Europe's mania for colonies at the end of the last century. It is time for second thoughts about space.

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WASHINGTON REPORT

ALLIANCE IMMOBILIZED

Although the crisis in Vietnam preoccupies the energies of the policymakers and the foreign affairs interest of the public, the problems of the Atlantic Alliance still press for attention.

These problems—political, economic, and military—are susceptible of solution but only if the United States makes some difficult choices and lays down some firm lines of policy. The Johnson Administration, like the Kennedy and Eisenhower Administrations before it, finds it impossible to make these choices because it fundamentally cannot make up its mind what it thinks about Russia's long-term intentions. Holding divergent judgments at the same time, the highest American officials temporize and hope for something to turn up.

The fundamentally optimistic view about Russia is that a cautious pragmatic realism is gradually and inevitably gaining the ascendancy in the Kremlin. This realism will produce over the next 10 to 20 years a continued mellowing in Russian-American relations. Under these circumstances, to minimize the threat of World War III, the United States should do everything possible to build and encourage a sense of confidence and goodwill on the part of the Russians. Only in this way, it is argued, can Russia and its Eastern European satellites gradually be drawn back into the traditional European community of nations, the split in Germany healed, and the cold war come to an end. Those who hold this viewpoint are not concerned about the NATO military alliance because they believe that the chances of a Russian military attack on Western Europe are extremely small. They also downgrade the importance of German re-unification as a political and diplomatic objective, partly because of distrust of the Germans for their past behavior and partly because they subordinate any European aim to the overriding consideration of reconciliation with Russia. Broadly speaking, Walter Lippmann and George Kennan in this country, and the French government in Europe, are actively identified with these ideas or variations of them.

The rival and more pessimistic view of Russia's intentions is based on the conviction that although Stalin's successors have altered some of his methods, they have not abandoned the long-term Soviet ambition to divide the West, encircle the United States, and dominate the world. Only American strategic nuclear power blocks this grand design. If the United States is not to be forced some day into the position of making good on its threat of nuclear deterrence or else surrendering parts of the free world to Russian domination, then it is important for the NATO allies to cooperate closely with one another in maintaining a strong diplomatic, economic, and military front against Russia.

From this viewpoint, it is morally scandalous that at a time when the West is richer than ever before in its history, the European allies are—with the exception of West Germany—cutting the size of their armies and—with no exceptions—scrambling after scraps of trade in the Communist world like so many miserable pawnbrokers.

Although the tone of American policy is quite different now from what it was in the Truman years when the NATO alliance was formed, this viewpoint also still exercises considerable hold over U.S. policy. Thus, this country urges its European allies to maintain their troop commitments to NATO at full strength, deplores the growing trade in potentially strategic goods with the Communist bloc, and warns periodically of the dangers of Allied disagreement.

Because these estimates of Russia's intentions and probable future course severely contradict one another, American policy has been virtually paralyzed for the last five years in Europe by the challenge of General de Gaulle. Much of what he advocates could be accepted if one were as sanguine as he about the Russians. Alternatively, if one took the danger from the Russians with full seriousness, one could meet de Gaulle's obstructionism head-on and probably defeat it. But since our officials disagree with him and yet half-suspect he may be right, they only dither.

Two other special factors intervene to make it difficult for American officials to think clearly and act decisively where de Gaulle is concerned. The first is the sneaking hope that at his advanced age, he may soon die or retire, taking all these vexing issues with him. The second is the understandable American difficulty in taking seriously the French preoccupation with prestige and place. To practical American minds, there seems something inherently absurd in the attempt of France with its population of only 50,000,000 and its pathetic little *force de frappe* trying to jostle itself into the front rank of world powers alongside Russia and the U.S.

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A significant incident occurred in this regard in the spring of 1961 when President Kennedy made his first trip to Europe. At the conclusion of his talks with General de Gaulle, he spoke to the old gentleman approximately as follows: "I have long admired you and have long wanted to ask you this question. With your years of experience, what advice would you give me starting out my term of office as leader of a great nation?"

President de Gaulle is said to have paused and then replied that he would ponder this question and reply to the President in writing. What advice he eventually tendered I do not know. But, psychologically speaking, President Kennedy's query, set forward in all friendliness and sincerity, was exactly the wrong approach to de Gaulle. He accepted the question as both a natural act of homage to himself and to France and also as a sign of weakness in the young man with whom he was dealing. It was a natural—one might even say a typically American—mistake for President Kennedy to make because to us prestige is a secondary, if not alien, concern. The United States, unlike France, is not the home of the world's greatest chefs, hairdressers, fashion designers, and gourmets. In short, the U.S. is not a society that puts the highest value on the style and manner and nuances of life. We find it hard to remember that France is and that, in political terms, General de Gaulle is the archetypal Frenchman.

De Gaulle Won't Disappear

Since General de Gaulle may very well be re-elected this year for another 7-year term, it is useless to keep hoping that somehow he will just go away. Nor should Americans underestimate the damage that he is doing to our interests. By developing a nuclear striking force, he is attempting to take the decision of when and where to retaliate to a Russian move out of our hands. He cannot determine the outcome of a nuclear war but he could decide when one started. Secondly, he has gravely weakened NATO as a credible military force by refusing to coordinate his military policy with that of the other members of the alliance. Third, he consistently undercuts American policy in Vietnam for no purpose except to win for France a prominent place at the council tables if a diplomatic negotiation should be attempted. Fourth, he harasses Britain and the U.S. by attacks on the pound and the dollar in European money markets. And finally, by refusing to pay France's proper share of United Nations peacekeeping activities, he rescues the Russians from their isolation as the chief delinquents in the world body.

General de Gaulle's aim is to drive the United States out of Europe. In this way, he sees a new Europe emerging which would be grouped around France and which would, under French leadership, negotiate as an equal with Russia. It is a preposterous notion. No other Europeans are clamoring to disassociate themselves from the United States and tie up with France. Moreover, France cannot protect Europe militarily. A Europe without American military backing could not negotiate anything with the Russians except a surrender. There is, therefore, no such thing as a "European" solution to the division of Germany or to cold war issues generally. This chimera exists only in Gaullist propaganda.

There is a straightforward policy the U.S. could adopt if it wanted to counter General de Gaulle. This country could sign a bilateral military alliance with West Germany and make nuclear weapons available to the Germans with control to be shared by the two countries. This would automatically establish West Germany as the foremost power in Europe. Forced to choose between France and a German-American partnership, Italy and the Benelux countries would have little recourse except choose the latter, leaving France isolated.

As part of such an alliance, the U.S. could exact the support of German bankers for an aggressive Anglo-American move to take the pound and the dollar out of the line of fire, replacing them as international currencies with a new unit of exchange to be administered by the International Monetary Fund. This would place international money on the same sensible basis as the Federal Reserve System long ago placed our own domestic money. Such a reform would put an end not only to France's politically-inspired financial blackmail but also to the deflationist pressures from the old-fashioned European central bankers.

For various reasons, the U.S. shows no inclination to grasp these nettles. One reason is historic sentiment. One West German diplomat returning to Bonn a few years ago after a trip to Washington explained to his colleagues, "I did the best I could but you must remember that in the United States when you say 'Germany' they think of Hitler and when you say 'France' they think of Lafayette."

Another and more compelling reason is that the U.S. recognizes that a tight American-German military alliance would sharpen differences with Russia. Until this country makes up its mind how it wants to cope with Russia in Europe, its policy toward the Atlantic alliance can only be one of drift.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

THE EMERGING NUN

Are religious communities of women losing candidates because of the greater appeal of the lay apostolate? I don't know that there are any firm figures on this question, but many of the Mother Superiors queried for an article by Sister Mary Pauline in the March 20th *Ave Maria* thought so.

If they are right, why should this be? Some believe it is because the lay apostolate requires only a set number of months or years and not a lifetime decision. Some feel that potential candidates begrudge the time of preparation for religious life; they want involvement now, not some years from now. Others, though, share the views of the priest who wrote that the situation "is not so much due to the attractiveness of the lay apostolate as it is due to the restrictions from a true apostolate which some Sisters have to face."

This is the crucial point. I don't know if religious communities really are losing candidates to various forms of the lay apostolate, but there is no doubt that the religious communities of women are going through an internal crisis of considerable proportions. In convents all over the country, self-analysis and self-criticism have become commonplace, as the great debate over the proper role for Sisters continues.

Some of the ferment now going on reflects the newly critical approach to parochial schools. There are in the United States over 175,000 nuns, which means there are more than three Sisters for every priest. Of this number, more than 100,000 nuns are engaged in teaching, which means that they spend most of their lives with parochial school children, teaching not only religion but science, history and the like. The question that is now being raised is whether this is indeed the most effective form of apostolate for so many Sisters to be engaged in.

Some nuns took recent criticism of the parochial school as attacks on them. In this I think they were mistaken; at least those I know who raise this point don't do so in any such spirit. On the contrary, their basic reasoning involves a keen appreciation of what the nun could do if she were not so largely confined to either the parochial school or the Catholic hospital. As their presence in the historic march at Selma demonstrated, Sisters can have tremendous influence. Catholic critics of the parochial school do not want to limit their work; they want to expand it and make it reach far more, and different, people. If I had my way, for example, every Newman center in the country would have Sisters as well as priests to work with female students; it is fine that there are nuns at Mundelein or Rosary or Trinity, but how about some on the campuses of Vassar and Bryn Mawr?

But many nuns are not trained for such work, it is often objected. Of course they are not; they would have to be trained. Some would not care for such work; others would be ideally suited for it. Some Sisters might like to work among the poor; some might like to concentrate on pre-school instruction for children in deprived families; some might be best doing home-visiting in our parishes. The point is that nuns should be treated as persons; their tastes and talents should be taken into account.

The plain fact is, I think, that the religious communities for women reflect the generally inferior position of women in the Church, and this is wrong. By canon law and long-standing traditions, nuns are treated like the children most of them spend their lives with. With women religious numbering into the hundreds of thousands, how else is one to explain the fact that the Vatican Council started out without one woman included and that it now has women only as auditors, not as voting participants?

This is to help explain the present situation; it is not to say that the religious communities themselves are blameless. But this is a matter in which the larger body of Catholics will have to bear a share of the blame. The Sisters are *our* sisters, daughters, cousins, aunts; to a sometimes frightening degree they have reflected the values of American Catholicism and followed exactly the course we laid out for them.

Unless I miss my guess, all this is about to change—indeed, it is changing right now. As the old saying has it, some of my best friends are nuns, and I'm willing to bet there is more ferment about *aggiornamento* in the women's communities than there is any place else in the Church. A big change like this one takes time, and while the Sisters are working things out they deserve every help and support the rest of us can give them. But if they are given half a chance, by lay people and bishops and pastors alike, I suspect the nuns will make the rest of us look pretty backward in short order.

JAMES O'GARA

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THE PROBLEM OF PRIESTS IN THE WORLD

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

Well over a century ago, Abbé de Lamennais, traveling back from Rome where his democratic views had been condemned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, stopped in Munich to meet with a relatively unknown priest-historian, Ignaz von Doellinger. De Lamennais then continued on to Paris and shortly afterwards wrote *Paroles d'un croyant,* a book in which he described a satanic conclave assembled to uproot "religion, science, and thought," and to destroy "Christ Who has restored liberty to the world." The allegory seemed transparently antipapal and anticurial, and the book was condemned by Gregory XVI as being "tiny in size but immense in perversity," and its author, who had been characterized by one of Gregory's predecessors as "the last of the Fathers," was gradually "hounded out of the Church"—to use Wilfrid Ward's phrase.

Around this time a young Anglican cleric in a bitter polemic entitled "The Fall of M. de La Mennais," attacked the Abbé for seeming to "believe in the existence of certain indefeasible rights of man." Nearly half a century later this same cleric, who only gradually came to realize that de Lamennais had been doing "a service to religion," also planned on stopping in Munich on his way back from Rome where he had been raised to the cardinalate by Leo XIII, and he too intended to meet with Dr. Doellinger. Cardinal Newman hoped to persuade Doellinger to accept the Vatican decrees. But Newman's intention, as we know, was never fulfilled, and Doellinger, like de Lamennais before him, died an outcast from the Church which he had so long served.

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER *will publish this spring* Nuclear Deterrence: The Ethic, the Rhetoric, the Reality *(Newman) and* The Christian Image: Studies in Religious Art and Poetry *(Duquesne University Press).*

Both Doellinger and de Lamennais were men born out of due time. For if a doctrine of collegiality, such as that which the present Council has affirmed, had been proclaimed in 1870, there would have been no Old Catholic schism and no defection by Dr. Doellinger; if the principles of freedom of conscience, to be proclaimed at the fourth session of the present Council, had been tolerated by churchmen in the early nineteenth century, there would have been no tragedy of de Lamennais.

There are many morals to be drawn from this narrative, not the least of which is that the second Vatican Council should not be praised too extravagantly for having embraced the age of reason, for endorsing views—e.g., the decree on religious liberty—which have largely been commonplaces among secular humanists for a hundred and fifty years. But the more immediate lesson of this historical parable has to do with the manner in which de Lamennais, Doellinger, and Newman responded to the encroachments of an abusive ecclesiastical authority.

No theme runs more constantly through Newman's Catholic years than that of the need for bringing sure truths into line with historical conditions—one of those conditions being in Newman's own time an indisposition on the part of Pio Nono and his "lackeys" (the word is Newman's) to accept even the surest of truths. Faced by the condemnation of some of his most deeply held convictions, Newman could have, like de Lamennais and Doellinger, continued to press his claims. That he didn't was not a matter of expediency, was not a mere tactical maneuver, but was the result of a conviction that once he had borne his witness as vigorously as possible it was not for him to attempt to force circum-

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stances, to attempt to bend the times to his own will.

With the exception of Scheeben and Dupanloup, no nineteenth-century Catholic thinker had so profound an understanding of the layman's role as had Newman. And Newman believed that the work of applying the principles enunciated by ordained teachers—whether official voices such as the bishops or prophetic voices such as Newman himself—developed primarily upon the laity.

Priest as Witness

Thus there can be recognized a threefold martyrdom for priest, bishop, and pope when they witness to truth: it involves not only the actual giving of testimony, but also the obloquy to which they may as a result be subject and the personal frustration they may experience at not being able *to actively implement* the truths which they have discerned. Here lies the only possible solution to the dilemma in which Hochhuth saw Pius XII trapped. When acting in that shadowy realm where prudential judgments are made, the consecrated minister of Christ cannot afford to temporize, cannot seek to accommodate his testimony to the demands of the practical order: precisely as an heir of the apostles his absolutely first duty, transcending that of administration and government, is to bear witness no matter what consequences may follow. The consecrated minister simply must not be solicitous for the morrow when it is a question of fidelity to his primary role as herald and witness, of fidelity to his kerygmatic and martyrial office.

What, though, if his confession is ignored—which is an entirely different thing from its not being heard? For if it is a *genuine* confession it will be heard, and whether or not it is ignored, the witness will have fulfilled his obligation as successor of the apostles. For what he proclaims is the seed-bearing word, and if the seed falls on bad ground, this is not his primary concern, because no matter where the seed falls, no matter who sows it, it is not he who gives the increase, but God who brings it to fruition through other secondary causes. This is the glory and the tragedy of the ordained witness: it is the burden of his cross that having been raised so high as priest, he must experience his creatureliness, even more deeply perhaps than does the layman, by not being directly able to translate his word into action. Whereas the layman who hears the word has an obligation to seek to bring the times into joint with it, to act and manipulate, to maneuver and agitate to the end that whatever refractory matter may be standing as an obstacle to the word shall be brought into conformity with it.

Here, then, is the theological basis for Archbishop Rummel's reply to a group of laymen who had asked him to implement his earlier statements on integration: "It's your move gentlemen; you know the state of mind of the people as well as I do. You create the atmosphere necessary for the success of such a move and I'll make it." And if it is said, in the case of integrating schools owned by a diocese, that it is only the bishop who can effectively act in this area, then one must counter by asserting that this provides merely another of many good reasons for bishops and priests to get out of the business of administering schools.

This is to say quite simply that the ordained are committed primarily to the proclamation of the one truth, and that the laity have as mission to elevate the multiplicity of matter that it may touch this unity of spirit which is, as it were, reaching down from on high. The ordained, then, after having borne their emphatic witness to spirit must put their faith in that spirit, and in its ultimately non-frustrable character; they must have faith in the movement of Christ through time and with a sense of detached commitment believe that the errors of today will inevitably be corrected tomorrow. They therefore must follow in the steps of Newman and not of de Lamennais.

It is the layman who should apply the confession of the bishop and his delegates to the concrete order. The layman *as a rule* has not the charism of clear discernment: that pertains to the bishop's office. And in this is the tragedy and glory of the layman's cross. He does not clearly see; he can, so to speak, only hear and act. But by his very vocation to the world of *action*, the layman must be literally im-*patient*, must refuse to place his trust in some distant future. By his very mission to the temporal, the layman cannot ordinarily place himself above time and disinterestedly expect that the seed-bearing work will grow without his culture of its soil.

These truisms have an obvious relevance to recent events in this country. There have been priests and even bishops who have heroically borne their witness to truth and who have had as a consequence indignities heaped upon them by the ecclesiastical machinery. But that is only a slight part of their cross: the greater straitening is that they must, having fully preached their word, leave it to others to actualize it in the practical order. The witness of the word differs from the witness of the deed—ordinarily (for obviously, there is a prophetic spirit in the Church which dissolves these distinctions). But in the general case—and that is the only kind that admits of being discussed—the priest who seeks to force circumstances to conform to his confession of faith

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violates his own vocation, laicizes himself in his heart, and ultimately, because of this corruption of values, becomes thoroughly committed to the temporal sphere.

Of course, the priest must also be a doer of the word, but this doing must be in those areas where the physical has already been brought into a condition of malleability by the layman, where the fully concrete and pragmatic has been opened up by the layman to that influx of spirit which the priest's subsequent actions shall then increase. Reciprocally the layman by his very act of attending to the word will begin to shape the matter of his daily affairs, and this matter he is shaping—in response to the testimony of the ordained—will, as it moves from its state of crude mass, elicit from the official teachers that clearer and more precise witnessing which the layman can only provide inchoately, and which can only be manifest faintly through the density of the physical world which is his proper ambiance.

The priest who lets these orders be inverted almost invariably falls victim to the kind of otherwise admirable humanism proclaimed by a Loisy or a Friedrich Heiler; similarly the layman inverting his vocation may find himself propounding the kind of ritualized humanitarianism elaborated by an Auguste Comte. Both natural religions syncretize—that of the fallen priest and that of the self-ordained layman—for when radical distinctions of office are destroyed a common greyness smothers everything.

Let the layman attend to the truth-bearing witness of his priest—even if in *extraordinary* cases such witness contradicts that of the bishop, since it is the truth that counts; let the priest who has borne his witness, when the matter at hand does not admit of being readily shaped by his word, silently inspire (by definition, there is no other kind of inspiration) the layman's active penetration of the world of the intractable. This is implicit in all our notions of hierarchy, of participationism, and of subsidiarity.

It is perhaps at this point that the dialectic tension between the eschatological and the incarnational dimension of Christianity can be best defined. The primary mission of the Church is not that of "saving souls" or "making converts," much less that of alleviating human misery or civilizing mankind; rather, it is simply to be the sign before the world of the second coming of Christ. However important all other actions of the Church and of churchmen may be, these actions are only secondary in relation to this signifying forth before all peoples of Christ's return in glory. But if the Church is to be truly this effective sign, she must in turn make use of the "signs of the time," she must make use of those dispositions and aptitudes in the here and now concrete reality—*in mundo huius temporis*, as the conciliar schema has it—which make it receptive to the witnessing Word. And in the discernment of these signs of this time, the layman plays the major role. By his very state he is best able to interpret the events of the present moment as well as to transform the temporal so that it is conformable to the Word which "comes down from on high."

Laicization of Heart

Not only because of all the reasons given above must the layman shoulder the greater responsibility in the active struggle for the transfiguration of matter by spirit, but also because it is an empiric datum that the layman cannot be as deeply wounded by the highest authorities as can the priest who is in every way closer to those authorities. Is it not an equally empiric fact that the priest who has been laicized whether in reality or in his heart (and making many exceptions for that prophetic call which only the individual himself can judge), who has let his sacerdotal character be blurred, only obliquely serves the cause to which he has been dedicated? It is a clear lesson of history that the priest cut off from the spouse—the Church through his bishop—to whom he has been wed by ordination becomes involute, turned in upon himself because he has lost his true "other," and that as a consequence his person itself becomes gradually deformed as his vision grows more and more distorted. The contrast between Acton and Doellinger, von Huegel and Loisy, between Montalambert and de Lamennais would point up the validity of this *general* conclusion.

At this point one might well wonder whether it is permissible to write in this way, seemingly to scrutinize the agonies of good men and dispassionately to adjudicate the most fundamental conflict faced by the human person. To that the answer can only be a qualified and hesitant "yes," and this because we do not know whether the struggles of public or historical figures are more significant than are the private ones we all must face, and because we *do* know that exceptions—even in a religion founded on exceptions—remain just that: exceptions; and if some or any guidelines can be drawn, it is all to the good.

One may also wonder where does this leave such active priestly works as the *Mission de France*, the "équipe de Gerland," and the projects of the *Economie et Humanisme* team. The answer can only be that it leaves them much where they are: in their state as bearers of a living witness. But it is on the *witnessing* that the stress must be placed. There is not much doubt

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that the ill-fated condemnation of the priest workers could have been based on the sound theoretical assumption that the priests had identified themselves too closely with the proletariat *as* proletariat; that is, that they had adopted for the most apostolic of motives the Marxist doctrine on the relation of the proletariat to the exploiting class. Such adoption no doubt led to their closer identification with the cause of the workers; but it also implied that the priests would have to play a part in any and all, well-founded or ill-founded, campaigns against the *patronat.*

Since in Marx the very notion of proletariat v. bourgeoisie *necessarily* implies an active struggle, it is evident that the worker-priests' identification with the "proletariat" as a sociological category entailed considerably more than their mere identification with the workers as such. One may suspect that it was not this theoretical realization that the sacerdotal office was being obscured which led to the condemnation of the *Mission de France,* but only the fact that the employers, fearing the presence of well-trained men committed to the cause of the workers, brought pressure to bear on the Curia. Nevertheless the theoretical distinction is basic. The role of the priest worker is not immediately that of active implementation of the principles of justice, but rather that of bearing witness to such justice. The form of witness is in itself irrelevant whether by one's work or by one's speech or by both; what is relevant and supremely so, is that any work done is done simply that it may be an effective instrument for the witnessing, and not primarily that it may achieve some tangible result in the world of temporal affairs. The danger for the priest in this country with regard to civil rights as in France with regard to the workers has been that the temporal goals may assume priority.

It is for this reason that Bishop Alfred Ancel, who even as a bishop had been a factory worker, prescribed for the members of his group the rule that: "In order to assure himself of maintaining a truly priestly comportment in the workers' milieu, the priest *should abstain from all temporal commitment whatever it may be* and he should enter into the activities of his fellow-workers only with a view to those priestly functions which constitute his proper ministry" (original italics). The meaning of this—and it has a direct relation to recent efforts of priests on the West Coast to bear their own courageous witness—is brought out in the following from Msgr. Ancel: "Strictly speaking a priest has no more right to make himself a worker than to make himself a bourgeois, though certain apostolic needs may lead him to work in a factory, even as other apostolic needs might lead priests to study middle-class culture in order to be better able to know the men who have been formed by that culture."

The great danger in the priest's making a total commitment to the goods of the temporal order is that he begins to work towards the realization of these temporal goods primarily. He loses what Bishop Ancel calls the "universalism of the priesthood" and what Yves Congar in *Vraie et fausse réforme* called "communion with the whole." Both "universalism" and "communion" imply spirit: and precisely what happens to the priest as a result of his loss is that he begins to invade the layman's domain which is that of pragma and multiplicity. (It is one of the more grievous enormities of certain militant West-coast publications that they have focused the attention even of the well-intentioned exclusively on insular problems, however tragic these may be: that these journals have appeared intent on goading clerics on into that world of action where the layman should by right bear the brunt of the struggle and confront the abuses of an arrogant authority.)

As the priest loses more and more his hold on universal values, local situations, no matter how evil in themselves, and concrete problems peculiar to a given area, loom more and more in his mind as the central realities. He is then tempted to cut himself off from the bishop—ordinarily indefensible no matter how recalcitrant and personally obnoxious such a bishop may have proved himself to be—and ultimately he may find himself in fact as well as in his heart in the lay state. Having lost this "communion with the whole" he may then begin to let himself be tempted against the Church itself.

Msgr. Ancel has anatomized this temptation in *5 ans avec les ouvriers;* and though he is writing with a view to French conditions, only few substitutions of language are needed to apply what he has said to scores of situations in this country:

"Living in the midst of non-Christians who are sociologically cut off from the Church, who regard it as a stranger and usually as an adversary, who criticize it continually in its leaders and in its members, one suffers almost fatally the temptation of breaking off (*désolidariser*) completely from what one is criticizing.

"I would like to attempt to describe this temptation and show how it invades little by little the spirit and the whole being of those who are not able to surmount it.

"In the beginning one does not wish to break with the Church, but only with what is evil in it; but if one is not on his guard one lets oneself be drawn progressively by the sociological current in which one is immersed, and little by little the word 'Church' evokes

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the same reactions that it evokes in the world of the worker. By that very fact one is tempted to revolt against the evil which exists in the Church.

"One seeks to justify this revolt by thinking that this evil frustrates those who are working for Christ. Then, one no longer understands why the Pope and the bishops happen to tolerate all this evil. One does not understand how the parish clergy are able to render themselves more or less complicit in this evil. Little by little one grows hardened; one criticizes, one attacks, and finally one feels oneself more at home among one's fellow workers in their sociological anticlericalism than with the clergy and practising Catholics in their attachment to the Church; for, one rationalizes, so long as the Church remains what it is, one is able to do nothing as a missionary.

"The result of this temptation is that one is led to pursue a path independent of the Church with a view to leading to Christ one's fellow workers of good will. . ., despite the Church."

Is not this the present peril? Is not the priest in danger of identifying his successes in the civil-rights movement with successes in his ministry of witnessing, and of sacrificing the latter to the former?

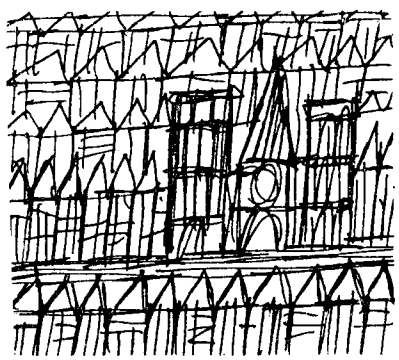
And have we not seen the outcome of this temptation in too many cases? In Father Feeney's obsession with a dead ecclesiological maxim and an exaggerated Marian doctrine; in Emmet McLoughlin's noble but narrow preoccupation with the administration of charitable works; in Boyd Barrett's concern with the collision of a new science and an old theology; and in the Tyrrells and the Loisys, and in so many more heroic but constricted visionaries—of whom few have been able, like Boyd Barrett, to recapture later that vision of the whole which defines catholicism. One one can only hope, then, that the example of a Father George Dunne, and more recently of a Father John Coffield, will be operative now in the scandalous atmosphere that Cardinal McIntyre has let prevail in his see city.

Faith in History

I would close with some words of Yves Congar writen at the time of the excommunication of a small group of French Catholics, led by Abbé Jean Massin and calling themselves "The Community of Christian Hope." These words are all the more significant because Congar himself was pilloried by clerical delators and censors for having been in part responsible, through *Vraie et fausse réforme,* for Abbé Massin's defection. And these words take on an even greater weight because Congar has recently sketched in *Chrétiens en dialogue* the mistrust and even contempt shown during the fifties by Roman authorities towards himself and some of the most dedicated and saintly figures of the postwar French religious revival. That he and his confreres, though bending, never broke under the lash of Rome makes his testimony utterly probative:

In *Témoignage Chrétien* (January 11, 1952), Congar wrote:

"One is able to leave the Church. But after that, what then? I have here before me a number of manifestoes: that of the liberal Catholic Church, of the



Kingdom of God, of the Evangelical Catholic Church, of the French Evangelical Church, and of many others. Several of these groups which in their time have caused much suffering and trouble to souls no longer exist. What have they achieved in the final analysis but to break with the Faith and to render more difficult the work of the Gospel in the world? Does not history cry out with all its might at the vanity of trying to purify the Church against itself? In forty of fifty years, when others shall overtake us on the paths of our present cares, those who today destroy and rebuild in the flower of their twenty or thirty years shall be not only ignored but forgotten. Where shall they be? What shall they believe? Reading the manifesto of their youth, I fear that they find nothing great in the profound truths which the saints have lived in the Church and for which at this very moment confessors are offering without glory before the eyes of men, their health, their liberty, and the very life of the body."

Congar had faith in history and faith in the power of spirit ultimately to reform the distortions and errors which he saw about him. That he did not react violently to the suppression of *Vraie et fausse réforme* and many other writings has resulted in his achievement's bearing now in these more propitious times— which ten years ago were completely unforeseeable—the richest and most lasting fruit. The present Pope has stated publicly that the works of Congar had nurtured his own spirit and had instructed him in the ways of religious renewal. It is no small thing to be a teacher of popes.

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TRIAL BY NEWSPAPER

A free press versus the rights of the defendant

NAT HENTOFF

In April, 1964, New York's dailies reported that George Whitmore, a young Negro, had confessed to a pair of particularly gruesome murders committed some eight months before. He had also confessed, it was printed, to another, more recent murder as well as to an attempted rape. Chief of Detectives Lawrence J. McKearney authoritatively proclaimed before television cameras, "We wouldn't have booked him if we weren't sure . . . We got the right guy, no question about it." Shortly after the confessions, there was this headline on a New York *Journal-American* story: "Wylie Killer's Trail of Fear." "Killer" Whitmore had yet to be brought to trial.

When he was finally before a judge and jury, Whitmore first had to face the attempted-rape charge. The speculation among reporters—and some printed it—was that if he were proved a rapist, at least by intent, it would be easier to convict him on the murder counts. The murder jurors would have seen the papers, radio or television. A jury did decide that Whitmore had tried rape, but then a major part of the image of "Killer" Whitmore cracked open. Spurred by a dogged, lay battler for civil liberties, John M. Lawrence (a law researcher by profession), several reporters had begun to dig into the double-murder "confession." A new set of attorneys for Whitmore followed up their stories, and Whitmore's confession to the first pair of murders was proved to have been forced by the police.

NAT HENTOFF *is the author of several books, most recently,* The New Equality *(Viking) and* Jazz Country *(Harper & Row).*

The New York District Attorney arrested another suspect and conceded that Whitmore would not be tried on that murder charge. A judge meanwhile ordered a new trial for Whitmore on the attempted-rape count because some jurors at the original trial had revealed anti-Negro prejudice during their deliberations and also, said the judge, because "the widespread publicity reported by the press, television coverage and radio contributed in no slight degree to the atmosphere of hostility that surrounded Whitmore's trial." There was great likelihood, the judge added, that the verdict had been influenced "by the incessant, inflammatory reports that branded the defendant as the confessor of three unrelated homicides."

At least two jurors admitted that what they had read in the papers about Whitmore's bonanza of confessions—all of which were made, by the way, in one 28-hour-period of interrogation without advice of counsel—considerably influenced their decision in the rape case. Whitmore's ordeal-by-newspaper is yet another bristling element in the accelerating debate about the public's "right to know" through an unfettered press (First Amendment) and a defendant's right to a fair trial, unclouded by pre-set community opinion concerning his guilt (Sixth Amendment).

Although this conflict has long existed between criminal lawyers and civil libertarians, on the one hand, and the press, law enforcement officials and some judges on the other, it has been most exacerbated recently by the Warren Commission's report on the Oswald case: "The news media, as well as the police

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authorities . . . must share responsibility for the failure of law enforcement" in Dallas.

Those of the press who deny the need, let alone the constitutional grounds, for any curb on pre-trial publicity agree with Alan Barth of the Washington *Post*: "On balance, what it does not know will hurt a self-governing society much more than what it does know." After all, this line of reasoning insists, if it was the press that helped create a hostile atmosphere for Whitmore's trial on attempted rape, it was also the press that created the pressure which indicated that one—and possibly all—of his confessions had been coerced. The other side would reply that, for all we know, there may have been other Whitmores sent to jail or to death on the basis of involuntary confessions, zestfully headlined in the press but never subsequently explored in depth by reporters.

Clearly, the apparent clash between two vital constitutional safeguards is not easy to resolve. Some of the argument has been quasi-hysterical, as in the case of John Bell, Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, who said on a "CBS Reports" program: "The important thing today is to protect the public, not the criminal. We are in the midst of an appalling crime wave that is sweeping our cities, our state, and our entire country, and instead of considering what they can do to further aid and abet these criminals, they ought to be considering what they can do to aid and protect the law-abiding public." That statement throws little illumination on the conundrum of pre-trial publicity but does stimulate questions as to Pennsylvania's standards for its judiciary.

A similar incapacity to understand the full implications of a system under which a defendant is innocent until proved guilty is the cry of alarm from Associate Justice Michael A. Musmanno of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court: "Curbing crime news is like recommending that no one talk about cancer, on the theory that silence will cause cancer somehow to disappear." But medicine is not law, and in the former, a suspicious growth is considered malignant until proved benign.

More reasonable in tone and logic is the contention of the New York *World-Telegram*: "It is dangerous business to encourage the arts of suppression and secrecy in public agencies, including police departments. For reasons of fear, cover-up or doubt, the tendency of functionaries so instructed is to turn mum." As opposed to this rational approach, however, is the vigilante fervor of Felix R. McNight, executive vice-president and editor of the Dallas *Times Herald:* "More and more protective measures are asked for the accused criminal, and fewer and fewer freedoms for the press to publicly unmask these degenerates who rob, rape, murder and intimidate the citizens of this country." Mr. McKnight has apparently confused himself and his reporters with the Lone Ranger.

Not the Only Problem

More subtle, and close to being disingenuous, is the assertion by the Detroit *News* that "pre-trial publicity about himself is hardly the only problem a defendant must surmount. Any defendant goes to trial under the handicap of the very fact that he is on trial." Precisely. And in today's courts, the poor—particularly those who are Puerto Rican, Negro or Mexican as well as poor—are further handicapped. They are often pre-judged by the public just for having been arrested. Accordingly, it could be argued that unlimited pre-trial publicity in their cases particularly turns the balance between the First and Sixth Amendments away from the latter. Judges as well as jurors read the papers, and the general quality of our judiciary, alas, does not instill much confidence about a judge being that much more able than a layman to focus only on the facts and case in hand if he has absorbed persistent newspaper judgments.

Nor do so many of those opposing all curbs on pre-trial publicity respond to the contention of Lewis F. Powell, Jr., president of the American Bar Association: "The guarantee of a public trial was never intended to protect any right of the public to be entertained or even to be informed of current events. The purpose is to prevent secret trials." An additional complexity in the debate is underscored by Telford Taylor, who was United States chief of counsel at the Nuremberg war-crimes trials. Almost invariably, the press livens its coverage of an arrested suspect with a fully detailed summary of his previous criminal record, if any. Yet, Taylor points out, that record is not admissible in court unless the defendant chooses to testify. "But what good are these safeguards," Taylor adds, "if they have been violated by publicity beforehand?"

In addition, there is small recognition of how pervasively judgmental newspaper pre-trial publicity is. Louis Lyons, former curator for Nieman Fellowships, is disturbed by the occasional press "abuse of that other constitutional right, an unprejudiced trial," and says there would be no problem if all newspapers acted as "responsibly" as the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*.

But let us look at a not untypical *Times*' account of an arrest. On February 17, 1965, Homer Bigart, one of the best reporters on the *Times*, started a story this way: "A plot by a small group of Negro extremists to

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blow up the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell, and the Washington Monument was broken up yesterday by the New York City police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation with the help of the Royal Canadian police." As James Higgins of the *Gazette and Daily* (York, Pennsylvania) later pointed out: ". . . there was no 'plot' on February 17, there isn't one now, and consequently it was not 'broken up' by international police teamwork. There will be a 'plot' when and if accused persons are convicted of the specifics of plotting." The *Times*' story, besides, mentioned a previous criminal record of one defendant, linked all to a "Black Liberation Front" and also identified them as being "pro-Castro and pro-Communist China." (All that information presumably came from the police.)

A few months before, the New York *Herald Tribune*, also widely considered a responsible paper, reported the arrest of an alleged spy for the Russians on Long Island. The front-page story included a dramatically cropped close-up of the "steely eyes" of the accused spy and counted it as significant that the man owned the "only red house in the block" where he lived, painted all the trucks in his business red and often clothed his three small children in red. As it happened, the man later confessed; but had he been brought to trial, I do not think the *Tribune* would have significantly contributed—by that story—to his having had "an unprejudiced trial."

What, then, can be done to satisfy both the First and the Sixth Amendments? Although, in Britain there are rigid curbs as to what the press can report before trial—and new proposals to strengthen those curbs—it does not appear that any legal restraints on the press itself here could hold up under the First Amendment. Nor would such restraints be without serious dangers since official, compulsory "guidelines" on the press have a tendency to solidify into chains.

It is possible, however, to set up legal restraints on pre-trial publicity emanating from the police and opposing attorneys. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has reportedly been circulating among federal attorneys a draft of a proposed order which would prohibit representatives of the Justice Department, including the F.B.I., from giving out any pre-trial information except the defendant's name, age, residence, employment and marital status; a summary or copy of the charge, if it is a public record; the place and time of arrest; and the agency which was responsible for the arrest.

In New Jersey, the Supreme Court, in a decision by Justice John J. Francis, has banned pre-trial "statements to news media by prosecutors, assistant prosecutors, and their lawyer staff members, as to alleged confessions or inculpatory admissions by the accused, or to the effect that the case is 'open and shut' against a defendant, and the like, or with reference to the defendant's prior criminal record, either of convictions or arrests." The same strictures apply to detectives, policemen and defense lawyers.

In Connecticut, John D. LaBelle, Hartford County State's Attorney, ordered the police chiefs under his jurisdiction not to provide any pre-trial information that might be prejudicial to a defendant's rights in a criminal case. Accordingly, the New York *Times* reported, the Hartford police chief made it clear to his men that they were "not to disclose information about a written or oral confession, past criminal record or parole status and opinions of policemen reflecting on persons before being convicted. He also ordered that news photographs must not be taken in a police building of persons in custody."

Connecticut State Police Commissioner Leo J. Mulcahy has given similar instructions to the State Police, and parallel rules have been promulgated for federal prosecutors in Connecticut by John O. Newman, United States Attorney for the Connecticut District. Newman agrees the public has a right to know, but he defines that right in this context as "a right to know that the laws are being enforced, that suspects are being apprehended, that trials are being conducted and that the guilty are being convicted and punished."

There are other movements in other cities toward curbing police or lawyers or, as in Seattle, trial judges from giving the press more than the most basic facts about an arrest and the defendant. Many of those proposals are being bitterly fought, as in Philadelphia, where the press, the District Attorney and the Mayor are resisting recommendations by the Philadelphia Bar Association for limiting pre-trial information about criminal cases. A number of New England and Kentucky dailies, somewhat more pacific than most of their Philadelphia brethren, are conferring with lawyers and judges to determine whether mutually agreed on, voluntary guidelines can be set.

There is no perfect solution. However, it may be possible to prevent a crippling collision between the First and Sixth Amendments by means of judges, as in New Jersey, or bar associations themselves, limiting what lawyers on both sides may say before trial. The Justice Department or Congress can similarly make regulations for federal prosecutors and law enforcement personnel. (In addition to the draft of the Attorney General's order, Senator Wayne Morse has introduced a bill to this effect). As for local police, rules

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can be set—depending on state constitutions and administrative practices—by state courts, State's Attorneys or those who locally have the power constitutionally.

Admittedly, even with adaptations in other cities and states of codes similar to New Jersey's or Connecticut's, a fine balancing line between the First and Sixth Amendments will remain difficult to maintain. But, if the right to a fair trial can be buttressed through curbing certain official and adversary *sources* of pretrial publicity, the more aggressive sections of the press would still be free to publish "hot" what they could find out. And thereby, with the press having to rely much more than at present on its own judgment and its own investigative resourcefulness, at long last crime stories would not—as in most cases now—be mainly the police versions of the events.

An American Madness

THE LATE DEMON RUM

JOHN P. SISK

America is so fundamentally the history of a gigantic and complex reforming movement that our reformers and reform movements tend to resemble each other regardless of time, place or cause. Freedom Riders echo Free Soilers; a present-day anti-vivisectionist in Kansas City might have been programmed for Abolition work in Boston over a century ago. We are apparently fated to repeat our great moments of reforming protest, often with a compulsiveness that suggests the hopeless neurotic, often with consequences that disturbingly call attention to the ambiguity in our traditions: is it General Edwin Walker or Martin Luther King who derives most from Thoreau's cell in the Concord jail?

To the student of the American reforming spirit, however, this repetitiveness is an advantage: he can concentrate on a single reform movement of some scope and still write about them all. This is what J. C. Furnas has done with the Temperance movement in *The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum* (Putnam, $6.95). His book is a kind of concrete universal: its wider reference is so thoroughly realized in the particular instance that he scarcely needs to mention the wider reference at all.

That an American reform movement should have temperance as an announced objective is itself ironic. For us reform suggests intemperate engagement. Nevertheless, in the earliest phase of the Temperance movement there were men genuinely interested in temperance: those, that is, who were in favor of a more civilized and moderate use of one of "God's good creatures." Early on, however, the movement became and remained intemperate, redefining temperance to mean total abstinence for everyone—a semantic shift still persisted in by the National Temperance League. To support this definition there was either the position taken by Rev. Lyman Beecher, that "no man can use spirits prudently, no Christian can do so without mocking God," or that taken by Rev. Eli Meech, that the respectable moderate drinker did more to perpetuate the evil of intemperance than the drunkard since he tended to obscure the heroic clarity of the issue. The Reverend Meech, of course, anticipates the modern Radical Right with its tendency to see respectable liberal college professors and journalists as greater menaces to the nation than card-carrying Communists.

The Temperance movement produced other characteristic mutations that resulted in the usual confusions. "Saloon" degenerated from its French-derived respectability until it was hopelessly disreputable. By the middle of the nineteenth century "rum" had become a pejorative blanket term for all alcoholic beverages, eventually covering even the light wines and beer which a minority of crusaders had for a while been inclined to tolerate. At the same time "bitters" and "tonic" became honorific terms. The products which they named were sold in drug stores and ranged from fortified wine to whiskey in alcoholic content, so that more than one passionate Temperance advocate was able to crusade with a glow on. One is reminded of the semantic malpractices among the more violent anti-Communists by virtue of which "red" has become an all-purpose vilifier while crucial distinctions among such terms as "liberal,"

JOHN P. SISK, *chairman of the English Department at Gonzaga University, Washington, has contributed to* America, Thought *and the* New York Times Book Review.

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"socialist" and "Communist" have been dangerously blurred.

The Single Idea

Mr. Furnas makes it clear that such a sweeping aside of distinctions that a culture has with great effort established is not a perversity but an inevitable product of the logic and economy of the reforming mind once it loses its grip on the real situation. This mind, whether its political bias is to the Right or the Left, tends to be tightly organized around a single mastering idea. It inclines to be disjunctive as it presses for ultimate once-and-for-all solutions, and its rejection of all but the most elementary distinctions is part of the effort to concentrate all of its energies on its objective.

In 1842, for instance, the Sons of Temperance asserted in an organizing manifesto that alcoholic liquors were "the prolific source (directly or indirectly) of nearly all the ills that afflict the human family." Given such an assumption, the organization could no more afford to distinguish between table wine and gin than Billy Hargis with his assumption of a diabolic world-wide conspiracy can afford to distinguish between socialism and Communism.

The effects of drunkenness were deplorable enough in actual fact; for Temperance propagandists, however, they were too often merely take-off points for horrifying fantasies. Even moderate drinkers, for instance, might suffer from D.T.'s, while heavy drinkers might be incinerated by spontaneous combustion. Such claims are no more extravagant than those "documented" by John A. Stormer in *None Dare Call It Treason* or Phyllis Schlafly in *A Choice Not an Echo*.

In charity one ought to remember that throughout much of the nineteenth century such nonsense was at least partially ascribable to a lack of accurate information. The frightening thing about the reforming mind, however, is the ease with which it resists accurate information—or, to put it another way, the skill with which it is able to select only that information that supports its mastering idea. As it engages its enemy, then, it tends to paint itself into a corner as quickly as possible, a tactic that is not as immediately demoralizing as it sounds, since the next move is to assert that the corner is the only area in which the angels abide.

Temperance people, Mr. Furnas says, were "often willingly gullible, sometimes casuistically dishonest," but he is not inclined to push the charge of dishonesty too hard, being well aware that given the necessary degree of fervor in the particular reformer the question of dishonesty is likely to be irrelevant. Distorting exaggerations, misrepresentations, quotations out of context, misused statistics, and downright "holy" lies are then seen as necessary extreme measures justified and even demanded by the imminence of a total take-over by the forces of evil.

Like countless reformers before and since, the Temperance reformers not only needed to see the world in melodramatic terms in order to make any sense out of it, they quite honestly saw it that way. The assertions of angry prophets like Dr. Benjamin Rush and Dr. Billy James Clark (who believed his entire community was teetering on the brink of alcoholism) are not properly measured against the honesty standards of less passionately engaged men. It is similarly pointless to question Robert Welch's honesty when he claims to have evidence that people in the highest places are abetting the Communist cause, or Rev. David Noebel's as he stumps the country warning that the Beatles are part of Communist master music plan to mass-hypnotize American youth. Indeed, it would be much more comforting to think of such people as conscious and calculating triflers with the truth than as passionate misconceivers: the latter, with their intoxicating sense of being the sensitive reeds through which moves the wrath of God, can be much more dangerous.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Furnas views the Temperance people they were often enough "as unscrupulous and irresponsible as the unregenerate." This was more or less true throughout the long history of the movement, but more true the older the movement got, in demonstration of Furnas's Law of Reformism: "the longer an organized good cause persists, the lower the tone of its tactics and exponents." With the arrival of Carrie Nation and the Anti-Saloon League the tone became very low indeed as zealots set about to correct a situation in which the Devil had been allowed to throw all the sneaky curves. This correction was undertaken by League founder Rev. Howard Hyde Russell, a man who knew himself to be "God-piloted," with the talented assistance of Wayne B. Wheeler, a dedicated hatchetman who impressed even seasoned politicians with the ruthless skill with which he used the weapon of the minority vote.

The Symptoms

Such men give us prime examples of what Mr. Furnas calls the Syndrome of Reform: that tightly-knit cluster of symptoms that distinguishes the reformer *in extremis*. In our time the composition of this cluster is familiar enough: frantic anti-Communism; suspicion of psychiatry, the labor movement, integration, social gospel

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Christianity; downright antagonism towards foreign aid, the income tax, the Supreme Court, the U.N., social security, etc. With the Temperance people the syndrome characteristically included a strong stand against tobacco, tight lacing for women, and swearing; an abiding fear of inflamed sexual passion; a commitment to to Abolition, women's rights, phrenology, cold-water therapy, spiritualism and diet-reform (made more tolerable, no doubt, by tonic and bitters).

Such a syndrome makes it easy to see the source of rum's metaphorical power. Rum simply stood for all evil. As Dr. Rush put it, spirits were not only antifederal but the "companions of all those vices that are calculated to dishonor and enslave our country." The perfect model of the reformer *in extremis*, therefore, is Melville's Ahab, who sees the white whale Moby Dick as all evil "visibly personified and made practically assailable" and out of whom he makes an "intolerable allegory." Rum was the intolerable allegory of the Temperance movement.

The opposite of rum was water, the symbol of all that was pure, virginal, virtuous and life-sustaining. "Gushing fountains infested the illustrations of Temperance books," Mr. Furnas tells us. Temperance battalions were Cold Water Armies, with childrens' auxiliaries recruited by way of Sunday School pressure. Temperance literature favored aqueous names: Crystal Foundation, Torrent, Cold Water Cup. Inaugural ceremonies for the new mid-century sanitary water systems "usually involved Temperance powwows." Rum, "the water of death," threatened water with the ultimate contamination, much as fluorine threatens it now in the minds of many conservative super-patriots. There is evidence, in fact, that water is a constant in all reformer syndromes: the *Daily Worker*, itself the organ of a redoubtable reform movement, once took a stand against water fluoridation.

Water was a symbol of nature for Temperance zealots, who were as dependent as most Americans on the polarity of the natural and the artificial for an understanding of themselves and their cause. Some attempt was made to brand alcoholic beverages as artificial because not found in living nature (an argument that failed to account for drunken bumble bees). However, this polarity tended, specially in the days of the Anti-Saloon League, to take the more familiar form of righteous country vs. vicious city (for a modern counterpart see Phyllis Schlafly's polarity of grass roots integrity vs. Eastern Establishment duplicity).

This conflict was intensified by other related conflicts: Protestants vs. Catholics (the latter were found in great numbers in the large cities); nativists vs. foreign-born (Irish and German immigrants tended to be city- and saloon-based); higher orders vs. lower orders (the urban undesirables became more so in the neighborhood saloon); management vs. labor (rum detracted from the worker's efficiency). Cutting across all these from another angle was the conflict of agrarian South and industrial North. Southern Temperance men did not like the softness on Abolition their Northern brothers were prone to, but they were otherwise highly susceptible to the argument that God had made the country while the Demon ruled the city.

Mr. Furnas's book, then, needs to be seen in relation to a growing body of literature that since World War II has been subjecting the American's pastoral impulse to rigorous examination. All of this literature (Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* is a recent example) emphasizes the disparity between the mythic simplicity of the American Dream and the increasing complexity of American reality.

Rum was the metropolis encroaching on the country and heavy industry encroaching on agriculture; rum was the threat of the old corrupt world and the old corrupt religion ("Rum, Romanism and Rebellion"); rum was the poor, the powerless and the discriminated against, threatening to break through traditional barriers; rum was the powerful metaphor that absorbed indistinguishably the whole bewildering concatenation of forces that was threatening a time-honored vision of America.

Rum was also sex. Frances Willard, the personal creator of the WCTU, saw "intemperance and impurity as iniquity's Siamese twins." Female virtue, the symbol of which was cold water, was menaced by even moderate amounts of alcohol. Drinking and whoring were inseparable in the minds of most Temperance enthusiasts, who tended to be obsessed with the pictures of naked women that decorated saloon walls. Horrified by doomsday visions of inflamed passion rampant, they attacked rum for many of the reasons that now impel the Radical Right to attack psychiatry, that warden of dark subliminal sources of potentially uncontrollable power. They demonstrate another law of reformism: the tendency of any reform movement to attract people who exist on the verge of panic with respect to threatening forces inside themselves—those less concerned with the cause than with the security of a concerted mass attack on anything whatever.

They attacked with Bible in hand and singing hymns, led on by ministers, physicians, genuine altruists, on-again-off-again alcoholics, eccentrics, frustrated spinsters, time-servers, frauds and madmen: the usual assortment that enters the lists in an American crusade.

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It was a nation-wide, century-long revival meeting that began rather modestly as an attempt at moral suasion with respect to an obvious evil; acquired momentum and power as it moved from sporadic successes with local-option controls to state-wide prohibition; managed finally, with an assist from World War I, to assert its will on the entire nation—at which moment of unexpected triumph it began to dream, with an innocent kind of hubris, of a gloriously dry world.

The Grand Idea

The Temperance movement was the longest and most flamboyant manifestation on record of the American madness, the madness of the dream of a grand idea put into act teetotally, once and for all, by sheer force of will. It apparently taught its members nothing, but it has this lesson for us: the danger of evaluating causes apart from the whole context in which they are pursued. Mr. Furnas speaks of it as a good cause improperly pursued, but to advocate total abstinence for everyone from alcoholic beverages because they are radically evil is not to advocate a good cause, just as to advocate an unqualified once-and-for-all triumph over Communism is not to advocate a good cause. Such causes not only hopelessly confuse what can be imagined with what is in fact possible but they cannot be advanced without questionable means. They are contaminated at the source. Once the Temperance movement ceased to be a temperance movement, distorting exaggerations, lies, terror tactics—all the familiar frenzies of the reforming mind out of control—were inevitable. Carrie Nation made many of her fellow crusaders uneasy, but she was nevertheless the movement's purest and most logical creation.

A second lesson follows from this: that to criticize a reform movement because of its extremism may very well be to focus on what is accidental in it. We are too inclined to accept without question the reformer's evaluation of his cause as a noble one and to commend him for his sincerity but to deplore his extremism. This tactic is all too likely to have behind it the belief that an all-out moral commitment to any cause, however good, is incompatible with the critical control necessary in the modern world and therefore undesirable and dangerous. Such a belief suggests the dilemma referred to in Yeats' "The Second Coming," in which "The best lack all conviction, while the worst / Are full of passionate intensity."

Are we not, then, threatened less by extremism than by a lack of good causes? The good cause is defined in terms of all its relevancies to the context in which it will be pursued. And since causes are conceived and pursued by men in time, and are therefore imperfect, they must be subject to constant criticism, in the interest not only of greater relevancy but in order to check their tendency to separate from their contexts and become idols. Causes so defined and refined tend to protect themselves from abuses of service to which the teetotal personality, that inveterate luster after causes, is prone; they even tend to refine that personality and to protect it from the disillusion that follows when the world fails to adapt itself to misconceived causes.

There remains the uneasy question: What cause, practically speaking, can afford to be without the services of the teetotal personality for whom the cause is total justification? It is obvious that such a person often enough plays a part in the pursuit of good causes, just as it is obvious that, men being what they are, it is too much to expect entirely pure pursuit from anyone. But the real question is: To what extent does the teetotaler change the cause for the worse in his service of it and so prepare for its ultimate defeat by turning potential cohorts into apathetic or disgusted onlookers or into active opponents? There is, for instance, plenty of evidence in Mr. Furnas's book that the Temperance movement did as much as any other factor in American life to set back the good cause of temperance. In this respect too does it not resemble the Radical Right, with its owns teetotal brand of anti-Communism?

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FRANCES HALL

MOUNTAIN PEOPLE

There is a light on gentle faces
Like morning on a quiet lake
Ready to mirror what you offer:
Sunshine or shadow or the break
Of lightning along your clouded sky.
High
On a troubled forehead
Shows the clefted fall
Of your swift anger's snowing
Or the dark wind of sorrow blowing.

Peace, peace to the image.
No marring of that quietness.
Let reflections be:
A tossing world of trees and wind
Will always lie between
The white tumultuousness you rouse
And mountain faces where calm light has been.

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AS SHERMAN WAS SAYING

THE SCREEN

This will have to be a personal review—mainly because I'm getting fed up with war pictures. The paying customers, however, are not, and as long as war films result in a bullish box office, I predict that producers will continue to make them. Three elaborate new ones are now on our screens.

Producer-director Otto Preminger has made "In Harm's Way" a rather conventional and old-fashioned movie about the Navy in World War II from Dec. 6, 1941 to shortly after the Battle of Leyte Gulf. Although the script condenses the novel by James Bassett, it does little to improve its character-crowded, action-cluttered story. Loading the film with stars is no great help either. Heading the cast are: John Wayne as the tough captain who, caught between commanders of a peace-time Navy and a war Navy, disobeys orders, is relieved of his command, and is later made an admiral in time to get a blundering admiral (Dana Andrews) out of a mess and to lead an attack against a Japanese Task Force; Patricia Neal as a Navy nurse who finds Wayne irresistible; Kirk Douglas as Wayne's good friend and fellow officer who loses control after his wife was killed while cavorting with an Air Force officer (Hugh O'Brian) on Pearl Harbor Day.

Tom Tryon is a sensible young officer reported 'missing' for a while but who gets back into action, saves Wayne's life at Leyte where Commander Burgess Meredith is killed; Paula Prentiss is Tom's wife who hopes to become pregnant; Brandon De Wilde is Wayne's snooty son who hasn't seen his divorced father for 18 years and who weathers both a period of bitterness and an inevitable cliche-soaked reconciliation; Jill Haworth is Brandon's fiancee who commits suicide after being raped by wild Kirk Douglas; Stanley Holloway is a civilian plane-watcher who proves invaluable to the Navy. "In Harm's Way" has more names, but some of their roles are quite secondary: Henry Fonda, Patrick O'Neal, Franchot Tone, Tod Andrews, Slim Pickens, etc. It is all tinsel and no depth. It has some good photography; and the shots of the Pacific battle scenes (for which models were used) are quite effective—but without them (and perhaps even with them) the picture is little more than a seemingly endless TV melodrama.

This business of packing a film with stars no matter

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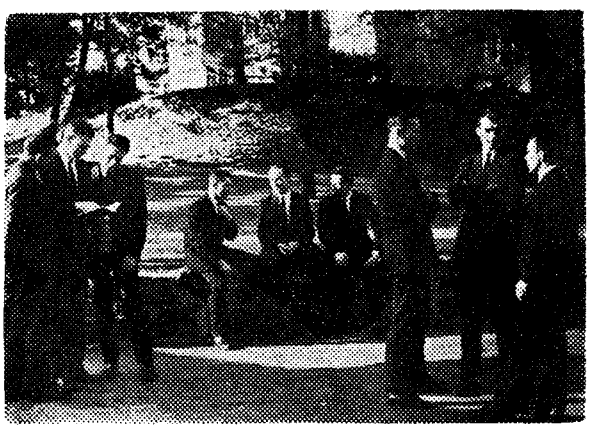

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how small their roles (carried to extreme in "The Greatest Story Ever Told") is almost becoming a standard practice now. "Operation Crossbow," which is mainly a thriller about a spying mission in World War II to learn if the Germans have secret long-range weapons in the making, is star-studded to the hilt. The leading character is played by George Peppard, who, along with Tom Courtenay and Jeremy Kemp, is trained for this dangerous mission, then poses as a Dutch engineer and gets a job in a German underground factory that is making V-2 rockets. Although the script was written by several writers from a series of factual episodes and documents, it is not very believable; and many of the incidents come out as fanciful cloak-and-dagger stuff.

But what makes "Operation Crossbow" worth watching is the excellent production Carlo Ponti has given it with stunning color photography, some quite authentic sets, and the first-rate cast which plays large and small roles to perfection. Director Michael Anderson does not treat stars as extras. Sophia Loren is excellent in her single scene as the wife of the deceased man whose name Peppard has assumed. Lilli Palmer is equally fine as the sweet-looking, tough-minded Dutch Underground conniver who is ruthless in plotting against the Germans. Richard Johnson is outstanding as the commander of the project charged by Churchill to discover what is going on in those deep-buried German factories. Paul Henreid and Helmut Dantine are thoroughly convincing and frightening as German commanders. And Anthony Quayle, noted for his Shakespearean roles, proves himself just as capable in the mean part of traitor and counter-spy.

It is probably true that the minor roles played by Trevor Howard, John Mills, Sylvia Sims, Richard Todd and others don't really need actors of that caliber, but under director Anderson, the bits are done to perfection. I wish the whole picture were equally as good. Even if you don't believe "Operation Crossbow," it won't bore you.

I wish I could say the same for "Major Dundee," a war-and-chase movie, most of which takes place in Mexico toward the close of the American Civil War. After an Apache chief and his band massacre settlers in New Mexico and kidnap three children, a Union major (Charlton Heston) and his little army of prisoners recruited from a group of Confederates, Union deserters, and various unsavory characters, chase the Indians in Mexico. What happens is often pictorially effective, but the script is so muddled, one can hardly follow what's going on. Under director Sam Peckinpah, the performances are good. The whole, however, adds up to little more than a series of interesting, almost disconnected episodes. Along with Heston, the good cast includes Richard Harris, Michael Anderson, Jr., Jim Hutton, James Coburn, Brock Peters, Ben Johnson, and several others, plus several very attractive women, who come through well, but to no purpose. "Major Dundee" must have started with a good idea, and then went haywire in the execution. The color photography of Mexico is worth the trip.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

A BETTER MOUSETRAP

THE STAGE

The longest run in Anglo-American stage-history belongs, unless I am the victim of a cruel and pointless joke, to something called "The Mousetrap," by Agatha Christie. For upward of thirteen years now the English public has been beating a path to Miss Christie's door to see a 50-cent murder mystery acted out—and then going home, I suppose, and keeping the secret for more long years, so as not to spoil it for others.

Of course, ever since the English invented the Common Law, they have been slightly barmy about crime (a classic case of over-compensation), but "The Mousetrap" is an interesting phenomenon for all that. It is always surprising when mystery-plays do well, because there are so many excellent reasons why they should not. And when one of them actually succeeds in lapping "Abie's Irish Rose," a minor mystery has given way to a major one.

To begin with, so much depends on the survival power of one slender secret—always a problem in a gaseous age like our own. Without the secret, you have no play at all. As Edmund Wilson pointed out years ago, detective stories usually make terrible fiction. Genuine characterization is next to impossible, because everything you are told about the characters is meant to be misleading. And dialogue is likely to be improbable, because it is usually freighted with clues, and normal conversation is not usually freighted with clues. Every literary value is sacrificed to the secret at the end.

A new play called "Catch Me If You Can" actually carries sacrifice to new levels of abasement. It even offers up jokes. For instance: the local police-inspector treats us to twenty terrible gags about how awful his wife is, and twenty more about how he'd like to trade

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her in for a new one. In the last ten minutes, we get to see the point of these jokes—but meanwhile we have had to suffer through them strictly as jokes. The play is called a mystery-comedy, but the mystery has entirely swallowed up the comedy.

It is further characteristic of how artificial these plays are as plays that reviewers are requested not to discuss the only thing that gives them point—the mystery itself. (Mystery reviews can be quite funny: sort of like a party-game where you have to do some routine thing under a silly handicap.) The secret of "Catch Me If You Can" is actually a pretty good one: but the pleasure is perforce retrospective. You get your kicks, if any, on the way home, working out why such and such a scene made sense after all, in light of what happened later. This is a thin pleasure as most detective-story readers know. (One always plans to go back to page 90 and read that chapter again, but one never does. Curiosity dribbles away quickly once you know the main answers.)

Nevertheless, these plays do promise something conclusive, however trivial and faint it may seem the next morning, and this seems to lend them a certain attractiveness. You might imagine that television would glut this appetite more quickly and efficiently, but for various reasons it seldom does so. The usual one-hour format probably is too short: you can't start enough hares in the time. And of course the commercials tend to disperse the idiot concentration needed for belief in these things.

Beyond that, the stage has a certain flat ordinariness very suitable to murder mysteries. One of the secrets of Miss Christie's lifelong success is the breathtaking banality of her settings—those awful villages with the chemist-shop and the poison register kept in a tea cozy (six people buying arsenic in one week? not at all uncommon for this time of year, sir.). The stage seems to convey this sinister flatness better than most kinds of film do.

Mr. Wilson finally explained the success of detective stories in terms of the secret police mentality, of our need to have villains unmasked and a difficult world made clear. But I think his own revulsion to the form misled him. Detective stories are a flight from something worse than terror—boredom. The trick is to create the most commonplace setting imaginable and then to introduce terror as a kind of relief. Miss Christie's world is so desperately dull that the only way to make it bearable is to sinister things up, to pretend that nothing is what it seems; suspecting the least likely person is a council of despair—what else can you do with him?

This strategy has obvious disadvantages in the theater. In the mystery world, dullness of surface is conceded; a mystery is fantasized into existence to make the dullness interesting. If the mystery doesn't work, you are obviously stuck. "Catch Me If You Can" is just on the borderline in this respect—a flat, improbable play that unravels quite neatly on the way home. (*At the Morosco*) WILFRID SHEED

BOOKS

What the French learned the first time around

The Battle of Dienbienphu
JULES ROY
Harper & Row, $6.95

WILSON CAREY McWILLIAMS

"The Prince," Machiavelli observed, "should have no other concern but war. . . ." The axiom has grown more true with the passing of time. As war has grown in horror, it has risen in importance: the effort to avoid war has become the central aim of foreign policy, and war, to be avoided, must be understood. In the modern axiom which parallels Machiavelli's, "war is too important to be left to generals." An increasing number of intellectuals have concerned themselves with war and military force, concerned to "deter" aggression if not to establish peace, and to limit war where deterrence fails.

Most of the attention of the "military intellectuals" has been centered on the danger of "central" or thermonuclear war between the super-powers. Yet that danger seems increasingly unlikely, while guerrilla violence and conventional war have become almost a normal condition in many areas of the non-Western world. "The nuclear shield," as Raymond Aron has observed, serves to release the "conventional sword." The importance of a book like Roy's to the study of guerrilla and partisan war is obvious, especially because it can balance what is becoming a serious error among students of guerrilla war.

An increasing number of analysts, especially in the United States, have accorded great respect to the doctrine of *la guerre revolutionnaire* developed by

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French military theorists, which heavily emphasizes ideological and political measures in anti-guerrilla conflict. Yet how curious is that respect! Asking French generals how to defeat guerrillas is rather like asking Barry Goldwater how to conduct a presidential campaign. Indeed, the record of the French military is generally abysmal: it has lost all of its major wars since the Crimea with the sole exception of World War I, and even then it began and fought the war on the basis of tactical concepts which were radically defective. (*Élan vital* could hardly prevail against the machine gun.) Yet the disasters of war have never dampened the political and theoretical standing of the French military, just as the habit of victory has never dispelled the conviction that British generals are, on the whole, a set of slow-witted incompetents.

Roy suggests part of the basis for this paradox: that the British have habitually examined their military defeats in detail, while Frenchmen have averted their eyes from national disaster. Yet more than "national character" is in question. The French generals have perfected the master theory of the defeated, which the *Wehrmacht* imitated in 1920: that defeats are the result, not of military incompetence but of political blunders and betrayals or of forces beyond the control of the military itself. In the doctrine of "revolutionary war" this doctrine reaches its apogee. "Defeat," the argument runs, "was not military at all: it was the result of revolutionary doctrine and political inevitability."

The secret power of this doctrine is that it accords with the instincts and training of journalists and academics. Familiar with political strategy, with ideas, with political forces, and less knowledgeable in military tactics, they seize readily on a theory which accords with their own *expertise*. Moreover, the doctrine of the French army is identical with the biases of the left, the most dangerous opponent of the military the world over: ideology and mass zeal, not arms, prevail in guerrilla war.

The tacit alliance between French generals and intellectuals runs a serious risk of overrating the political and underrating the military aspects of guerrilla war. Neil Sheehan, in his introduction to *The Battle of Dienbienphu*, is typical in asserting that the French commanders "did not realize that . . . Western military axioms would . . . fail to succeed against the revolutionary politico-military strategy of the enemy." Yet Roy's book suggests nothing of the kind. It suggests that the French high command violated virtually every axiom of "Western military" thought. By contrast, the strategy of General Giap for the Vietminh was simply sound tactics. Aside from the fact that General Giap's inspiring remarks to his troops have a revolutionary vocabulary lacking in the rhetoric of French commanders, the test was a test of military machines in which the French proved woefully defective.

The French government appears to have been apathetic regarding the war, yet General Navarre, fully aware of this attitude, committed his troops anyway: failure cannot be blamed on Paris. In many respects, French military equipment was far from modern, yet French officers demonstrated a tremendous confidence in that equipment. Indeed, it was their confidence in their weapons that influenced them to disregard the most elementary of Western "military axioms": that tactics are dictated in the first instance by terrain. A glance at the map of Dienbienphu indicates that the area is a death trap for a force which does not occupy the crests around it, yet the French hoped that the enemy, holding those crests, could be led to attack the plain. Howe at Bunker Hill was a far from brilliant commander, but, like the King of France in the old song, he knew enough to march up the hill.

Roy's work reveals a sorry picture, and one typical of French military history: fine troops, excellent and even superb troop leaders, and miserable staff planning and high command. French generals dissipated much energy combatting one another; suspecting information received from rival generals; hoarding troops lest a subordinate expand his sphere of action; rigidly pursuing plans lest it be necessary to admit error. Higher-ranking officers vacillated between gloomy resignation and the cult of death and romantic over-confidence and optimism. Indeed, the psyche of the higher commanders shows signs of manic-depressive qualities. Colonel Piroth, the artillery commander at Dienbienphu, who confidently rejected any need for artillery reinforcement was so overcome by the enormity of his error that he forthwith committed suicide. It seems likely that this *samurai*-like attitude reflects the perennial weakness of the French army: an officer training program which emphasizes warrior virtues, the passions of the beserker, and which produces magnificent small unit commanders who are not equipped to deal with the problems of large scale command.

For Americans concerned with the current war in Vietnam, the lesson is almost the reverse of that of Dienbienphu. That battle suggested that the best troops in the world cannot achieve victory if they are incompetently handled and commanded. In the present war, by contrast, we must recognize that competent equipment and high-level command cannot compensate for the small unit commanders which the French squandered with so prodigal a hand. Vietnamese under French command seem to have fought well; it would be hard not to be inspired by a Bigeard or a Langlais. Yet even if American advisors plan impeccable strategy for the Vietnamese generals, that strategy is useless without the tactical ability to carry out their plans. Political incompetence is, of course, a constant fact for both French and American armies. Yet on military terms alone, our present war seems unlikely to improve until American advisors control as sharp a sword as was the Expeditionary Force. It may be the greatest tragedy of Dienbienphu that the commanders who might have used the valor of its men to good purpose arrived on the scene only after that valor had been sacrificed to the ineptitude of the most consistently incompetently high command of modern times.

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Father Coughlin & The New Deal

CHARLES J. TULL

Syracuse University Press, $6.50

JAMES R. MELLOW

On those distant Sunday afternoons, when Father Coughlin came on the air, Aunt Mamie and the rest of us kids took off for an upstairs bedroom where we could listen to *The Shadow* in peace. There we stayed until the downstairs arguments were ended and the rattling sounds of supper issued from the kitchen.

On those random Sundays when we remained below to listen to the rousing oratory, we sat cross-legged on the floor in front of the glossy black and red-trimmed Atwater-Kent, raised like an object of veneration on its own metal stand. The resonant voice poured out from the round speaker, rising to a vibrant crescendo as it warned us about the evil that lurked in the hearts of international bankers. Uncle Anthony nodded; Aunt Priscilla frowned.

The click of the dial, as soon as the broadcast was over, was the signal for a regular battle in which half of the family was "silly" for believing everything it heard and the other half "stupid" for not heeding the word of God wired out from Royal Oak. Yet, no matter how fierce the battle was, it always ended in general agreement on the fact that Britain had never paid her War Debt, whereas virtuous Finland had. Righteousness in those days was a matter of paying one's bills.

Mr. Tull's book on the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, the radio pastor of Royal Oak, Michigan, does not dwell much on the special aura of the period or on those dull, routine Sundays which came to an abrupt end (along with Coughlin's public career) after Pearl Harbor. Without assistance from either Father Coughlin or the Detroit Archdiocese, Mr. Tull has put together an informative account of the radio priest from the journalistic record, from private and public sources and from the pages of *Social Justice*, Coughlin's rabble-rousing weekly paper. It is an earnest and well-written book, marred only by the final chapter—a thesis-like summary—which adds nothing to the material the author has already gone over in pertinent detail.

Farce is the revenge which history takes upon the golden-tongued demagogue, whatever terror, anguish and disruption he may have caused during his hour upon the world stage. We see Hitler projected upon the screen, ranting and screaming; Mussolini, jut-jawed and scowling like a bogey-man; McCarthy brandishing his famous list—and we wonder how these caricatures managed to command the ardor of millions. By present standards, Father Coughlin was a minor league demagogue. In Mr. Tull's account, he comes across as an impatient man trying to play a complex role by ear from one week to the next.

If Father Coughlin understood the mechanics of power-politics, he was seldom able to make the machine work properly. He set up vague political organizations then proceeded to re-organize them, disband them and, once more, re-establish them in the name of moral re-armament. His paper, *Social Justice*, predominantly sympathetic to fascism, was still capable of taking surprisingly contradictory stands on such matters. During the height of the Sudetenland Crisis of 1938, for example, the paper carried an article pointing out the abuse of the German population by the Czechs. A few weeks later, it carried an editorial sympathizing with the Czechs and pointing out their fair treatment of the Germans.

Despite the contradictions and the vague generalities of most of his economic programs, a sizeable audience stood behind Coughlin ready to flood the Senate with letters and telegrams at his command. His influence upon public opinion was considered powerful. When he urged his listeners to write to Congress demanding the passage of the Patman soldiers' bonus bill, thousands did and the bill was passed by a large margin. But even in the heady political atmosphere of the time, more astute observers had taken Coughlin's measure. Walter Lippmann wrote: "We will never get a real test of his influence until he decides to stake his influence on a question that isn't going to be decided his way anyhow."

The real test came in his fight with the man in the White House. At first he was an ardent supporter of the President and The New Deal, inventing the election slogan, "Roosevelt or Ruin." But gradually, as Roosevelt failed to take his economic advice to heart, Coughlin became disenchanted. In 1936, he started up a third party (the Union Party) with an uncertain quantity—William Lemke—as his candidate. By an unlikely confederation with Gerald L. K. Smith and Dr. Townsend, Coughlin planned to defeat Roosevelt at the polls. ("When it comes to a showdown," Roosevelt observed, "these fellows cannot all lie in the same bed. . . .")

The slogan now became "Roosevelt and Ruin." Coughlin's attacks upon the President became more virulent. Before a sweltering audience in Cleveland, he took off his Roman collar (a gesture symbolic, perhaps, of the constraints of his office) and denounced Roosevelt as a "liar" and "a great betrayer." Later, he boasted; "If I don't deliver 9,000,000 votes for William Lemke, I'm through with radio forever." By the end of the campaign, however, he could make an address without even mentioning his candidate's name. The Union Party, of course, along with Landon, went down to a crushing defeat. True to his word, the priest addressed a sad and disheartened farewell message to his audience on November 7.

The following January, he was back on the air: to his radio audience he explained that the last request of his dying bishop had been that he resume his regular broadcasts. Soon, however, he ran into difficulties with Archbishop Mooney, his new superior, for some intemperate remarks about Roosevelt and the C.I.O. This time he withdrew from the air and from his paper rather than submit to Chancery approval. But a nationwide campaign to restore the priest to his public apparently provided sufficient leverage to intimidate the Archdiocese, and Father Coughlin re-

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turned to his Sunday afternoon spot after three months.

As the world moved closer toward World War II, Coughlin's views became increasingly isolationist and anti-Semitic. The Jew, with convenient simplicity, became the agent of his twin evils, world Communism and international banking. In New York City, there were ugly incidents and street brawls between Coughlin's Christian Fronters and Jews. The larger networks, armed with a new broadcasting code, made it impossible for him to renew his contracts, and the priest cancelled his talks for the 1940-41 season.

But *Social Justice* continued on its erratic way. Even after Pearl Harbor, the paper persisted in its violent attacks upon the administration. The February 23rd issue (1942) charged that America's lack of preparedness, the shortage of defense matériel, the war effort itself were part of a vast international conspiracy: "Unbelievable as it is, there appears to be a plot hatched in Moscow, blessed in Berlin, grinned at in Tokyo and executed in Washington to defeat the United States of America from within." Finally the government and the Detroit Archdiocese intervened; under threat of defrockment and a trial for sedition, the priest and the paper were silenced. Father Coughlin was retired to the quiet life as pastor of his church at Royal Oak, a position he still holds at the age of seventy-three.

He was a phenomenon of the period. That his whole improbable career should have met with as much success as it did, is nearly incredible. That a Roman Catholic priest should have held political ambitions at the time was close to preposterous. Yet he started with something of value; a progressive social program based upon the papal encyclicals. He had the backing of the more liberal Catholic circles, including *The Commonweal*. But the corrosion of public success began to show up early and his first friends became his first enemies. As Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has already noted—economics, for Father Coughlin, became increasingly a branch of rhetoric. He became a voice; the rich, golden, disembodied voice toward which the unhappy, dissatisfied and paranoid elements of a society could gravitate on a Sunday afternoon for a message which could nurse their hatreds through the week. It was all the more dangerous since it must have seemed to many the voice of God or of the Church.

There is no question, in Mr. Tull's account, that the rock upon which Father Coughlin foundered was Roosevelt. When he forced his believers to choose between his God and Roosevelt's Mammon, his support was split down the middle and he was left with the fanatic remains. (A performance that was repeated several years later when McCarthy made the same mistake over Eisenhower.) The lesson to be learned from Father Coughlin—in the sphere of national politics we have seen it twice demonstrated since Coughlin's time—is that the rabid, irrational element in any society, looking for easy solutions, will sooner or later find its golden-voiced avatar. A note of Franz Kafka's reads: "A cage goes in search of the bird."

The Conscience of India

CREIGHTON LACY

Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $7.50

India's Ex-Untouchables

HAROLD R. ISAACS

John Day, $4.50

GEORGE WOODCOCK

The position of India among the nations which have gained independence during the past two decades is a unique and peculiar one. It is the largest of these countries, only less populous than China among the nations of the world. Vertically, it is divided by an unparalleled variety of cultures, languages and religions, and horizontally by an unexpectedly durable caste system so complicated that even among the outcastes, the former Untouchables, there are 405 identifiable sub-castes and communities. At the same time, through native leaders, from Rammohun Roy in the early nineteenth century to Gandhi and Nehru in our own time, it has absorbed—probably more deeply than any former colony—British political and ethical ideas which have had an incalculable influence on the outlook even of those Indians who seem most devoted to their own traditions and most hostile to the West.

But what sets India most apart from other newly independent nations is the claim advanced for it as a nation whose political traditions are based on the moral concepts which Gandhi wove into the struggle for independence, moral concepts which spring from sources as varied as the Bhagavad-Gita and the writings of John Ruskin. Such a claim inevitably invites examination and criticism. How far, one asks, does India in fact follow the tradition of non-violence established by Gandhi? How far, since independence, has it purged itself of ancient social evils which the fathers of Indian freedom, Tilak as well as Gandhi, denounced as rigorously as any western critic?

Creighton Lacy in *The Conscience of India* and Harold R. Isaacs in *India's Ex-Untouchables* examine this problem from different perspectives. Professor Lacy is a Christian scholar who in the past lived for a long time in China, and who spent the best part of a year in India gathering material for his book. He is concerned with the extent to which the moral traditions associated with the various religions of India have contributed to the establishment of an outlook which will lead to the solution of the country's immense social problems. From this standpoint he begins by examining the ancient creeds of India: Hinduism and its offshoots, as well as Islam and the Zoroastrian religion of the Parsees. In each of these he finds a moral strain tending towards social justice, but he points out, rightly, that until the establishment of British rule none of the Indian religions had been able to make any appreciable impression on the intense social conservatism which counterbalanced the theological tolerance of Hinduism. Hinduism's celebrated power of absorption, in other words, was also a power of neutralization.

Only the most conservative of Hindu

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traditionalists—but there are more of them in India than the world outside generally realizes—are likely to deny the extent to which the humanitarian and democratic ideas which the British brought with them have changed the direction of Indian society. As Professor Lacy shows in the subsequent chapters of his book, western influences not only brought to India a different kind of moral urge—that of service for the sake of one's fellow men rather than for the sake of one's karma; they also acted as a catalyst to re-activate the positive elements in Hindu tradition.

Given his Christian viewpoint, Professor Lacy is naturally concerned with the influence which the missionaries wielded in the development of the "conscience of India," if, indeed, one can think of a collective conscience for so complex and divided a society. Here he naturally makes the best showing he can, emphasizing the part which the early missionaries played in removing such abuses as *sati* and human sacrifice, and giving full value to their work in organizing education and hospitals.

Yet, when all is told, the record of almost two centuries is not as impressive at it should have been. Too many Christians, Catholics and Protestants alike, accepted the evils of caste, to the extent of segregrating former Untouchables in their churches, while the Christian community since independence has shown, as Professor Lacy admits, a defensive attitude towards Hinduism and a great timidity in accepting its responsibilities towards social progress and the liquidation of traditional injustices. In fact, one is led to conclude that, where Christianity has most influenced the slow transformation of India, it has been mainly through the activities of British officials and through the filtered influence of Christian concepts imparted by Indians who recognized their debt, like Gandhi, or who obstinately denied it, like Radakrishnan.

Professor Lacy's book is fuzzy in focus, but in part at least this is due to the diffuseness of the problem itself. How can one treat, in a single book, with the multiple demands which the problems of India make upon the consciences of those who strive for social justice?

If *India's Ex-Untouchables* is more direct and unequivocal in its impact, this is at least partly because Mr. Isaacs has taken a single problem and dealt with it perceptively and concisely. Few outsiders and even few casual visitors to India realize how strong the caste system remains; in some areas, in fact, it has gained a new vitality because castes have been transformed into political pressure groups. Since Independence the worst aspect of caste in India, Untouchability, has been legally outlawed. One now talks of Secluded Castes, but little more than the name has changed, and most of India's 65,000,000 ex-Untouchables still live on the stinking outskirts of the villages, doing the country's dirtiest work.

A special program has provided educational privileges for a minority, but the very fact that candidates have

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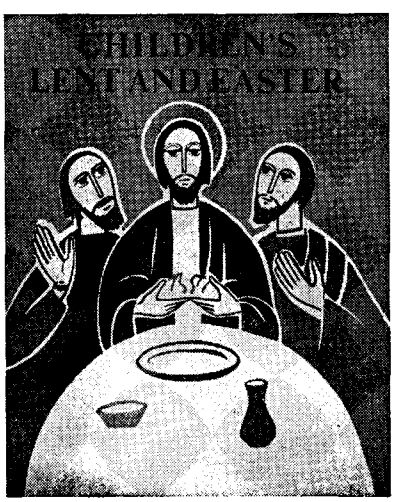

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to declare their membership of the Scheduled Castes in order to gain scholarships or quota jobs in the civil service means that they are marked men. A few caste Hindus condescend to dine with ex-Untouchables, but in the acid test of caste, namely intermarriage, there has been no concession. Escape by religious conversion is futile, since most converts are former Untouchables, and to say that one is Christian or Buddhist is to declare oneself outcaste by birth. Even concealment is pointless, for Indians have as sensitive ears for the subtleties of caste speech as the English for the fine points of accent.

Mr. Isaacs found it as impossible as any other westerner to plumb the morass of village "ex-Untouchability," but, by interviewing many educated members of the Scheduled castes he has produced an extraordinary document on the durability of human prejudice and the unhappiness of the perpetual outsider, "Every ex-Untouchable I met had personally experienced untouchability . . . There have been changes, but nowhere, city or country, is it yet possible for such a person to live without being reminded constantly of his status or lack of it."

Most astonishing is that up to the present no scholar, Indian or non-Indian, has been sufficiently interested in the problem to produce a study as pointed and substantial as Mr. Isaacs' short but devastating volume. It is a book that must be read, and by Indians above all.

Population and Food

MICHAEL CEPEDE, FRANCOIS HOUTART AND LINUS GROND

Sheed and Ward, $10

ARTHUR McCORMACK

"Their happiness does not depend upon their being thinly or fully inhabited, upon their poverty or richness, their youth or age, but on the proportion which food and population bear on each other." This statement from the *Essay on the Principle of Population* by Thomas Robert Malthus is often overlooked by those who quote Malthus to reinforce pessimistic theories and policies based on the "menace" of numbers. Numbers, as Malthus himself implies, here are neutral. Problems arise from numbers in relation to space and food. Among the richest countries in the world today are those with the greatest numbers of inhabitants to the square mile (e.g., England with 792 per sq. mile, Holland with 850, Japan with 675). In parts of the world underpopulation is as great a drag on progress, as potent a complication of poverty and under-development, as overpopulation is in other parts of the world.

In a field that has too often been bedevilled by hysterical and partisan pessimistic effusions, this work suggests the possibility of at least a restrained optimism. The authors are, respectively, an outstanding agriculturist, a practical sociologist and a demographer, and they may well have taken for their motto the saying of the great English agnostic Thomas Huxley: "We should sit down like children before the facts." They marshall a formidable array of facts and figures (there are 75 tables of statistics) from which the reader can with a minimum of guidance form his conclusions. These conclusions will in all probability be startingly different from some of the popularly held opinions on population questions to which a one-sided presentation of an oversimplified attitude has tended to give rise.

Too often in the preoccupation with campaigns to prevent people from existing or from being annihilated by nuclear war the simple truth is forgotten that the best way to feed the people who exist in hunger is to give them food and enable them to produce it for themselves: to provide the agricultural and economic conditions which will enable the surpluses of the developed countries to be used and the immense food potential of these developing countries to be exploited. Research into the food needs of the existing hungry millions and the ways to satisfy those needs with our boundless technology and the earth's latent

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resources is much more necessary and pays quicker dividends than any attempts to reduce population increase by any known birth control methods. Nor do we need to wait for nuclear disarmament.

This book does not make easy reading. It is definitely for the student (for whom it is in fact, indispensable), not for that type of general reader who likes to get his knowledge neatly packaged in digest form. Its price in any case puts it out of the range of the casually interested; but for the specialist and the intelligent reader who is prepared to work hard to get a real, not a superficial, grasp of one of the most vital problems of our day on which the peace of the world may well depend, this book is essential.

It is true that in this field even the most up-to-date and carefully compiled statistics tend to "date"—the expert in any case gets them from the latest reports and not from a book of reference, however excellent, but the very latest figures are not essential to most of the points that are made in the book. (Without being a captious critic may one point out a statistical slip which is obviously a misprint, namely the figure of 3 million for India's population increase instead of 8 million; even the latter figure has now been passed: it is about 11 million).

These reservations apart, I know of no other book in this field which gives so thorough, painstaking and enlightened a treatment to all the important factors of an extremely complex subject. Sometimes scholarship gets in the way of clarity and at times the wood is not visible for the branches of the trees. But the essential message of the book comes out with crystal clearness: that the world can feed its peoples and any foreseeable increase in them and that the population explosion gives no excuse for the fact that millions still go hungry. This has been said before (though not often enough). It is reassuring to have it repeated, backed up by an immense weight of scientific evidence by authors who are obviously far from being doctrinaire opponents of family planning.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 99*)

toeing away from the world's knotty side. It is the variety of pacifism that has played a vital role in our country in the civil rights movement—in the pacifist leadership of Martin Luther King, James Farmer, John Lewis, Bayard Rustin, etc. I need not mention other places where nonviolence has been of strategic importance—in India, certain parts of Africa, in Scandinavia under occupation, in Eastern Europe under the Soviets.

The pacifist believes that the most effective means of struggling against injustice is nonviolent resistance. He believes it is the most effective means not only for domestic problems (racialism, poverty, etc.) but also with dangers on the international level: military invasions, etc.

The emergence of nonviolence comes rather late in history—after centuries

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John Courtney Murray, S.J.

The Problem of Religious Freedom

John Courtney Murray, long committed to the clarification and resolution of problems of church-state relationships, illuminates the difficulties involved in the problem of religious freedom. The difficulties, he states, arise from two distinct areas—the variety of religious-social situations throughout the world and the contemporary state of Catholic doctrine on religious freedom. His lucid discussion results in a formulation of the political, juridical, ethical, and theological issues involved in religious freedom.

Father Murray had a major role in the drafting of the Decree on Religious Liberty expected to be acted upon at the fourth session of the Vatican Council in September. He has also been named by the Unitarian Universalist District of Metropolitan New York to receive its 1965 Thomas Jefferson Award for *"conspicuous service in the cause of religious liberty."*

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and centuries of efforts to perfect weapons of violence until we now border on the ultimate—and does raise the question whether it is possible to teach an old dog new tricks. Violence is indeed taken for granted. A great many simply shrug at the thought of a nuclear war, say mousely "you have to die sometime" to the prospect of nearly universal human annihilation. The Secretary of Defense announces how many millions will die in both urban and nonurban nuclear assaults—and at best we gulp.

It seems to me the Church, and men of faith generally, has a particular responsibility for guidance in these areas, and that this calls for more than a "business as usual" attitude on our parts.

In the past, until Pope John, this meant ecclesiastical and theological attempts to put the brakes on violence, to "civilize" war, as you say. Given the war technology of those times, this was an understandable and even fruitful undertaking. But crossbows are no longer with us. Volunteer (or at worst conscript) armies no longer meet for battle on the plain. The idyllic days when men put their weapons aside on holy days or when men, such as Robert the Pious, made such oaths as "I will not attack noble ladies traveling without husband, nor their maids, nor widows or nuns—unless it is their fault" are forever gone.

Technological advances in weaponry have once and for all destroyed the most central concept in Christian thinking on war: that there is a difference between mother and sergeant, munitions factory and hospital.

This I think was the realization which led Pope John to write in *Pacem In Terris:* "It is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice." (A theologian has informed me the Latin text for this statement is even stronger.)

The Pope would seem to leave only one door open for us—as it seems to me does common sense—and that is to turn to nonviolent alternatives. While we renounce war, certainly no one is excusing us from the responsibility of struggle against injustice, wherever it may appear—in the South, in Vietnam, South Africa, etc.

Realizing what I have said may bring the response, "Your platitudes are fine; but what does one do about Vietnam?," I think a few words on the nonviolent alternatives in that particular situation are in order.

Happily in line with recommendations from Pope Paul, U Thant, Premier de Gaulle and spokesmen for the World Council of Churches, pacifists would recommend that negotiations should replace the current bloodshed. This would clearly entail a cease-fire.

Negotiations should involve either the 14 nations which created the long forgotten Geneva Accords (our nation was the first to ignore them, by the way) or possibly the United Nations. The function should be to create a democratic government, but a militarily neutral one. No doubt a cooling off period would be necessitated before elections could be held. And certainly U.S. and all other foreign troops (if there are any Chinese in the North) should be ordered out. Neither nation has been welcome in Vietnam and the exit would be welcomed.

A free election (South Vietnam has had only one; the victor was jailed by Diem) would be held at the earliest possible date. These would be supervised closely by non-aligned outside authorities.

One key point: While we would call for the withdrawal of American military forces, we would urge a drastically stepped up program of non-military aid. Our success already with the Mekong River Delta Project (similar to our own TVA) is notable. Vietnam would welcome such "forces" as the Peace Corps. Here the possibilities are limited primarily by imagination. It is difficult to believe the two million dollars we spend daily on the war in Vietnam could not be put to ultimately more effective nonviolent usage, and be a far more effective tool against Communism.

JAMES H. FOREST
Co-chairman
The Catholic Peace Fellowship

Pacifism and Vietnam

Hadley, Mass.

To the Editors: I wish to express my dismay and disappointment at your editorial stand on President Johnson's South Vietnam policy and at James O'Gara's patronizing comments on pacifism in general and "the declaration of conscience" against the South Vietnam war in particular. Both are in your issue of March 19.

Mr. O'Gara's point is that though the

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specific gripe of pacifists about South Vietnam is unrealistic, the support of such a stand *is* valuable in its insistence that moral considerations should be brought to bear on the practical questions of war and peace. But your editorial stand—that direct U.S. participation in war is justifiable as a prelude to negotiation—is in direct contradiction to O'Gara's position because the criterion by which you "justify" U.S. action is not justice in any moral sense at all. I do not mean to identify myself as naïve (in Yahoo eyes) by belittling the political importance of strength as a device of negotiation. I only wish to suggest that such military strength for such a purpose *is* political, and when it involves chicanery in the internal affairs of another country, condoning torture by allied troops, napalm bombing of villages, and questionable legality even by the standards of international law, it just may be gained at the expense of the procedure that O'Gara calls making "morality relevant to the modern world." Certainly for a consideration of the subject to be based solely on questions of practical and political possibilities, as yours was, is as problematic as a consideration which fails to take them into account at all.

There is, however, an underlying unity in this editorial stand and O'Gara's column. Both are examples of the gallant search for a reasonable and civilized standard for slaughter, and O'Gara attacks those who doubt the existence of such a standard as "barbarians"—a term that yokes the necks of Linus Pauling and the Pentagon while presumably keeping their heads pointed in opposite directions. Like others, O'Gara bases his quest on several assumptions that seem to me improper. Does the state really "have the right to use force to protect the common good," as O'Gara suggests? In recent years we have been compelled by history to consider the common good in global terms, but the state has remained national. The common good, whatever it means, certainly no longer means national interest, the good of the people within the territorial limits of a nation, or even the good of people whose governments belong to international alliances of the east or west.

Since the common good is no longer the good of one citizenry, it seems reasonable to conclude that decisions involving even the possibility of global conflict can no longer remain with one state. I am not arguing that the common good ought not to be protected, I am merely stating that in cases of warfare the principle of common good precludes anything like unilateral action, and hence the state, in the sense of *one* state, does not possess the right O'Gara thinks it does. O'Gara himself modifies his second assumption (that one shouldn't let evil triumph over good) with the "just war" proviso, a notion more widespread in Catholic circles and, I think, more dangerous than that of the state and the common good.

The whole notion of the just war is about as useful as the notion of the just church-bombing. Indeed, the casuistry could well be rather similar: It is only just to bomb churches when your cause is right; it is very just to bomb an empty church; it is perfectly just to bomb a full church as long as its inhabitants (or most of them) are identified with the evil cause; it is very injust to bomb a church if you will be hurt in doing so; *vere dignum et justum est* to bomb a church if you suspect its members intend to bomb *your* church. When countries instead of churches are placed in the list, a fair definition of the conditions for a just war will be the result. But my argument with the very existence of a just war standard is perhaps greater than my argument with the conditions that make up that standard.

However dominant or long-standing the traditional "Christian witness" on war that O'Gara speaks of, it did not prevent the Crusade against the Albigensians or the Massacre on Bartholomew's Day. My point is that once war is allowed for reasons that are considered just, the gate is opened to all sorts of inevitable sophistry. I think that church-bombers really have the insane belief that they are in the right, and I do not know of any country that went to war with the clear knowledge that its cause or its method was wrong. The problem of the just war criterion is precisely that it is less aware of historical reality (in this case the reality of delusion) than the absolute pacifism that O'Gara finds untenable. But the voices of intelligent and articulate Catholics remain choked by the unrealistic and inapplicable theory of the just war while the problem of finding effective, non-military, and international kinds of force remains too little regarded.

CHARLES A. KNIGHT

"Publish or Perish"

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: Let us not be so quick to cast aspersions upon the research and publishing activities of our university professors. Granted, the "publish or perish" problem [editorial, March 19] is a real one, and requires solution if we are to maintain high standards of scholarship via recognizing the merits of non-publishing faculty members who are good teachers. Teachers should certainly be rewarded for good teaching. I strongly feel, however, that much of the editorializing against "publish or perish" tends, by implication, to equate doing research with poor teaching ability. Your editorial identifies good teachers as those who "put students before research, lectures before publications, bull-sessions before scholarly isolation."

Admittedly, not all professors who do research are good teachers. On the other hand, the same is true of those who do *no* research. However, I have found many research-oriented professors to be very stimulating as teachers. In point of fact, I would contend that their research interests have aided greatly in their professional growth and sophistication as teachers. Teaching and research are complementary activities, and not opposing forces. Furthermore, *what* would the non-publishing professor teach if it were not for the efforts of his publishing colleague?

The "publish or perish" problem must be explored, but the present criterion of the system must not be decried by implication as the villain.

ALGIMANTAS M. SHIMKUNAS

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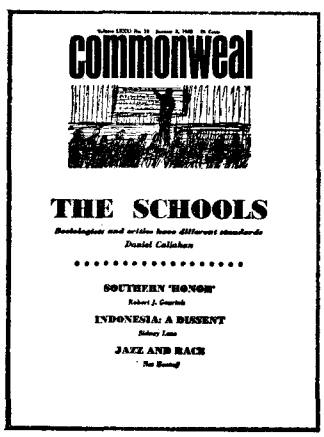

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